STUDIES IN INDO-ASIAN ART AND CULTURE

VOL. 6

LOKESH CHANDRA

STUDIES IN INDO-ASIAN ART AND CULTURE

VOLUME 6

रघुवीर

COMMEMORATION VOLUME
on the
78th BIRTHDAY OF
ACHARYA RAGHUVIRA

edited by
LOKESH CHANDRA

Printed at the Arya Bharati Mudranalaya, New Delhi 110016
Published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 110016
Price: Rs. 150.
October 1980

Funding by IKS-MoE

CONTENTS[6]

1 The introductory verses of Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho's 'fourth volume'
Zahiruddin Ahmad, Bundoora (Australia)
33 Sanskrit and Romanian poetics
Gheorghe Anca, Romania
41 The prophecy of Jayabhaya
Angkasaputra, Amlapura, Bali (Indonesia)
49 The great prince Tcūṃ-Ttehi
H. W. Bailey, Cambridge (England)
51 Cultural relations between India and Bulgaria
Slavi Donchev, Sofia (Bulgaria)
71 Japanese stories about Avalokiteśvara and the Lotus Sūtra
Yoshiko Dykstra, Honolulu (USA)
111 Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka
Ratna Handurukande, Peradeniya (Srilanka)
123 A Brāhmī inscription from Kara-Tepe
Oskar v. Hinüber, Mainz (Germany)
127 Chinese sources for Indian history
Chia-luen Lo
137 Vaiśravaṇa/Kubera in the Sino-Japanese tradition
Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi (India)
149 The Manchu version of the Amitāyus-sūtra
John L. Mish, Bronxville, N. Y. (USA)
165 Vairocana in the Japanese tradition
Mochizuki
179 Colossal Buddha images of ancient Srilanka
Acharyage D. T. E. Perera, Srilanka
185 Māna, asmimāna, ātmamāna
Genjun H. Sasaki, Kyoto (Japan)
193 The goddess Mahāmāyūrī in China and Japan
M. W. de Visser
211 A report on the Akṣayamati-nirdeśa-sūtra (Buddhist doctrinal history, 2)
Alex Wayman, New York (USA)
233 Gandhāra in the records of Chinese pilgrims
Chikyo Yamamoto, Koyasan (Japan)
244 Life of Dānapāla
Chikyo Yamamoto, Koyasan (Japan)
2~~45~~ Indonesia's wayang theatre
Kamala Ratnam, New Delhi (India)

ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 259

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
RAGHU VIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt. et Phil.*

आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

Funding by IKS-MoE

PROF, DR. RAGHU VIRA (1902-1963)

Funding by IKS-MoE

ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD, BUNDOORA, VICTORIA (AUSTRALIA)

THE INTRODUCTORY VERSES OF SAŃS-RGYAS RGYA-MTSHO'S "FOURTH VOLUME"

The Tibetan title of the work under consideration is:
Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho'i thun moṅ phyi'i rnam thar du kū la'i gos bzaṅ glegs bam gsum pa'i 'phros bži pa.
which, translated into English, is:
The Fourth (Volume), continuing the Third Volume of the ordinary, outer Biography, (entitled) "The Fine Silken Dress", of my own gracious lama, Ṅag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho.

It is the first of three volumes "continuing" the three-volume Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82), written by Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705). In order to keep up the continuity with the Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the three supplementary volumes are numbered IV, V and VI, instead of I, II and III. The "Fourth Volume" is, in fact, Vol. I of the "continuation" and deals with the years 1681-83.*

The three supplementary volumes are called a "continuation" because the fifth Dalai Lama, strictly speaking, never died. He merely left his fifth body to find and inhabit a sixth.

I have had, in my possession, for some years, a xerox-copy of the 4th and 5th volumes made from the xylographs in the India Office Library (IOL), London. In 1978, I have obtained a micro film of all the three supplementary volumes in the British Library (BL), London. Of the existence of the BL xylographs, I was, I am afraid, unaware when I wrote my book, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the 17th century* (Rome, 1970).

By comparing the two copies, I have here reconstructed, translated and annotated the 68 introductory verses. Although these verses have no historical significance, they show Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's somewhat surprising knowledge of Hindu mythology and Sanskrit poetics and, as such, may be of some interest to some readers.

As far as the text is concerned, I have followed the IOL reading, except where this is illegible. The system of transliteration is as follows: K, KH, G,

---

* Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the 17th century* (Rome, 1970), pp. 31-32.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Ṅ/ C, CH, J, Ñ/ T, TH, D, N/ P, PH, B, M/ TS, TSH. DZ, V/ Ž, Z, ’, Y/ R, L, Ś, S/ H, A.

I have indicated the page-numbers of the xylographs in the text, but not in the translation and notes, because it has not been possible to follow the page-numbers of the xylographs in the translation. Pages 9a, 9b, 10a and 10b occur in two different versions and I have indicated this in the text.

In my translation, I have aimed at giving a literal translation, without any literary pretensions.

I have neither transcribed nor translated Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho’s footnotes, because, in most cases, these were illegible, but I have indicated the gist of the footnotes in the section headings.

TEXT

drin can rtsa ba’i bla ma ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho’i thun moṅ phyi’i rnam thar du kū la’i gos bzaṅ glegs bam gsum pa’i ’phros bži pa.

(P. 1a:) ṅag dbaṅ lhas bzuṅ mkhyen pa’i mthar son ris med chos bdag ’chad rtsod rtsom la blo yi skal bzaṅ gdul bya rgya mtshor smra ba’i ’jigs pa med pa’i go cha can.

(P. 1b:) (blank).

(P. 2a:) thub bstan spyi daṅ btsoṅ kha pa yi luṅ tsho’i thos daṅ bsam pa’i sde rnams rab rgyas tshaṅs pa’i sras mo bžad pa’i zer gyis lṅa rig utpala yoṅs grol ba’i.

(P. 2b:) ’khor ba rdo rje’i mtshon gyis ’joms śiṅ smin grol lam gyi ’gro ’dren rnam dpyod gdoṅ drug bsñems pa’i kheṅs pa ’phrog nus khyad par ’phags pa’i laṅ tsho dar ba can.

(P. 3a:) (BL:) dpag dka’ mkhyen pas ’jam dpal dbyaṅs kyaṅ mchog tu dga’ ba’i spyan dkyus yoṅs btsa’ sa gsum ’gro ba’i bśes gñen dam pa drin can bla mas tshe rabs kun tu skyoṅs 1.

(P. 3b:) phun tshogs ’phrog pa’i bdud sde’i phyogs las rgyal ba’i myu gu sñiṅ rje’i ris bda’ thams cad mkhyen pa’i sñe ma’i khur.

(P. 4a:) mtha’ dag ’gro la sbyin pa’i raṅ bžin ṅag gis brjod min ye śes snaṅ bas dus gsum kun la dbaṅ sgyur ba’i.

Funding by IKS-MoE

(P. 4b:) blo chen rnams la’aṅ blo gros ster mdzad bzaṅ po’i bskal par bsod nams rgya chen ṅes pa lṅa ldan gaṅs can mtsho.

(P. 5a:) srid ži’i yon tan ma lus rdzogs pas saṅs rgyas ’khor ba med pa’i raṅ gzugs mchog de pad dkar dzin pa rgyal 2.

(P. 5b:) dri med blo ldan tshaṅs pa’i kluṅ/ma ’dres khyad chos bco brgyad kyi/bzaṅ po’i rgya mtsho khyod mthoṅ bas/skyeṅs te mkha’ la soṅ bar dgos 3.

(P. 6a:) kun mkhyen blo bzaṅ grags pa’i bstan/rdzogs par bzuṅ la ya mtshan ci/mtha’ dag grub mtha’i rgya mtsho yaṅ/gyas su ’brel ’di mtshar che mod 4.

(P. 6b:) blo daṅ rig pa’i rnam ’gyur gyis/mi phyed khyod gsuṅ brgya byin mtshon/dran pas ’dod srid lha min mṅal/mthar byed bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho’i mgon 5.

(*P. 7a*, line 1:) ṅag dbaṅ lhas kyaṅ gžal dka’ mdzaṅs pa’i gros/’debs mkhas blo bzaṅ ’dus sde rgya mtsho’i gñen/ṅes don khyod sku mthoṅ ba’i lus can rnams/slar yaṅ gžan (line 2:) la blta ba’i ’dren byed phra 6.

’khor ba’i yams nad ’phrog pa’i sman pa žes/grags pa don ldan mtho ris chos kyi gsuṅ/ri mo gsum (line 3:) pa’i gžal med khaṅ chen nas/bskul ba’i sgra dbyaṅs ’dzam gliṅ mthar yaṅ brgal 7.

’jam dpal dbyaṅs kyi chos kun ’doms mkhas rje’i/’phrin las gzugs can ñid du ’byuṅ (line 4:) ’gyur thugs/ma brtags dga’ ba’i byed po tshaṅs pa yis/kun gyi bśes gyur mkha’ ’di chuṅ ṅur sprul 8.

tshogs gñis ’bras bus ’byor pa yoṅs ’du’i mdzod./(line 5:) rgyal gsuṅ snaṅ ba’i luṅ gi bden stobs mthus/rnam par phye las ci ’dod smin pa’i char./(*P. 7b*, line 1:) kun khyab thugs rje’i ri bo gru ’dzin nas 9.

skye med skye ba’i ’bab stegs sa ho ra’i/rigs brgyud mya ṅan daṅ bral dge ba’i śiṅ/rgyal maṅ me tog grol ba’i mthus bsil ba’i/mṅon par mtho de sa gsum kun dga’i gtam 10.

gaṅ der legs byas dar bab bkra śis kyi/brgya phrag snaṅ bar ’bar (line 2:) ba’i sku yi dkyil/mkha’ mñam mun par gtibs pa’i rgyun gcad par/dag pa’i žiṅ nas ’pho ba’i ṅo mtshar phul 11.

’chi med lam nas skal ldan (line 3:) ’dod gsol ṅor/dal babs phan bde’i rlabs ches ’dzam gliṅ ’gro’i/dri sbyoṅ nam mkha’ rgyal po’i sku’i tshul du/ya mtshan gśegs pa’i ri byi’i rna rgyan ma 12.

smod tshig chu gter ’thuṅs pa’i dad stobs lus/(line 4:) legs byas gyas su ’khyil daṅ sñan pa’i sgras/dug gsum ’khor ba’i rims nad ’phrog pa’i mṅal/’dzin pa’i mtshan ma lhuṅs che yum ñid la 13.

Funding by IKS-MoE

mṅon sum thur mas phye pa'i ya (line 5:) mtshan mig/lha yi rjes 'gror bris de som ñi yi/rab rib dri ma med phyis glo bur du/sñiṅ rje'i raṅ bžin rgyas pa'i lhums su žugs 14.

grags pa lhums na dkar ba'i zla 'od kyis/bdud rtsir smin pa za hor rigs kyi mtsho/(line 6:) sṅon med phun tshogs rol ba'i 'dzum rlabs kyis/zla bcur 'khruṅ las btsa' ba'i dus babs tshe 15.

yid can lha min bcas kun dbaṅ med du/'dud pa'i rnam 'gyur rdzogs la ṅo mtshar (*P. 8a,* line 1:) ci/phyi rol bem po'i dṅos kyaṅ sems ldan bžin/dge mtshan du mas mdun bsus bltams par gyur 16.

lumbi'i tshul du don grub sku bltams daṅ/ya mtshan ltas kyi che ba kun mtshuṅs kyaṅ/tshaṅs daṅ brgya byin sri žur mi 'du ba/gñid dam (line 2:) yaṅ na lṅa par gyur la rag 17.

bsod nams gzugs can bžin du mdzes pa'i sku/mtshan dpe gsal de dge ba'i sñiṅ po ltar/ñin bžin 'phel ba'i yon tan dṅos po 'graṅs/'dzin la tshaṅs pa'i blo yaṅ (line 3:) gžon nu'i dus 18.

mtsho skyes chu yi zegs ma phra mos kyaṅ/ma gos bžin du srid pa'i ṅaṅ tshul ro/yoṅs btaṅ rgyal ba'i brtul žugs žags pa yis/kun yid 'dren pa'i rol rtsed rmad byuṅ (line 4:) ba 19.

phra mo žo 'thuṅ dus kyaṅ bus pa yi/col chuṅ dman pa'i bgyi ba riṅ don ñe/bag yod dam pa'i brtul žugs karti kas/ tshul min glaṅ sna'i mche (line 5:) ba druṅ nas phyuṅs 20.

dus gsum chags med gzigs pa'i śes rab kyi/pha rol phyin pa'i spyod mchog mtha' klas pas/tshur mthoṅ dman blo'i cha tsam mtshon pa'i slad/'jags 'jigs skrag pa'i ṅaṅ tshul ṅal bsten pa 21.

sdig pa'i ro la sred 'phel (line 6:) bdud tshogs kyi/gya gyu'i sdigs kyis bslaṅ ba'i myos byed dug/mi dge'i raṅ bžin bžin du rnam smin lus/blon po'i zol gyis dgoṅ pa dus 'gyur gyi 22.

mi bzad brtul žugs 'bar ba'i rta gdoṅ ri/gžan dbaṅ rgya mtsho 'thuṅ (*P. 8b*, line 1:) la 'gran bžin du/'byuṅ 'gyur bdud rtsis brlan pa'i me tog char/žal gyis bžes sogs ṅo mtshar dka' spyod tshul 23.

'gro maṅ bsam pa'i rjes soṅ gya gyu'i ris/phyogs lhuṅ pir gyis 'god la ches pa'i mthu/dge daṅ rig śes lam gžan 'tshol ba'i tshul/'gog (line 2:) byed bka' daṅ sṅar gyi gnas bstan pas 24.

chos srid ñi ma'i 'khor los phyogs daṅ gliṅ/rdzogs pa'i thugs bskyed bžin du dri med mkhar/'char ba'i thabs tshul de yaṅ gzugs (line 3:) can ltar/bdo ba'i yid res rtags kyi mtshan ma mthoṅ 25.

lus can bskal par bsags pa'i legs byas 'bras/thugs rje'i rgya mtshor

Funding by IKS-MoE

lhuṅs las nem nur gyi/dri bral ṅos zin dpyad gsum yoṅs (line 4:) dag pa'i/rin chen gser sbyaṅs 'od kyis phyogs mun zos 26.

'khor ba gdug pa'i sbrul bsten khyim thab las/sdug bsṅal ro 'dzin gyo ba'i gdeṅs ka can/skyen bžin spaṅs (line 5:) ba'i bdud rtsis 'tsho ba'i thabs/zag med grol ba'i rlabs su yaṅs pa'i thugs 27.

rgyal maṅ srid pa'i chu gter chen po las/so sor thar pa rnam dag khrims kyi gziṅs/brtan mkhas mthun sbyor rluṅ la bžon pa'i srol/khuṅs ldan rin chen tshol bžin rab tu byuṅ 28.

yab (line 6:) gžis chu gter sdug bsṅal dpa' rlabs can/ñis brgya gdug pa'i na kras yoṅs gtses ba/riṅ spaṅs mtha' klas skye 'gros rnam kun tu/mtshon pa'i rten 'di dus gsum rgyal bas bsgrubs 29.

rig pa'i rgyud ldan śes bya'i tambu ra/(*P. 9a-I* & *P. 9a-II*, line 1:) khyod mkhyen sor mo'i 'phul gyis brduṅs ma thag/chos tshul kun gyi raṅ mtshaṅ bstan pa'i sgra/thams cad mkhyen pa'i dbyaṅs su sñan bžin yaṅ 30.

rgyu daṅ 'bras bu'i raṅ bžin bden pa'i mthu/'gog pa med mtshon bslab (P. 9a-II, line 2:) gži miṅ tshig nas/(P. 9a-I, line 2:) dam pa la 'os rig pa mchog gi gnas/ma tshaṅ med pa thugs kyi 'bab stegs gyur 31.

de ni mkhyen yaṅs chu gter chos kun gyi/baṅ mdzod rin cen 'ba' žig gis phyug po'i/(P. 9a-II, line 3:) rgya chen gtiṅ mtha' lha mchog zuṅ gis kyaṅ/ma rñed (P. 9a-I, line 3:) dal bas rgyud maṅ brten nam sñam 32.

sra ba'i go daṅ rab rno'i mtshon la sogs/gyul ṅor dpa' bo'i cha lag ma bzuṅ yaṅ/naṅ gi gñis 'dzin snaṅ ba'i bdud sde'i tshogs/(P. 9a-II, line 4:) mthu stobs ye śes rdo rjes bcom rtags su 33.

phyi (P. 9a-I, line 4:) rol rgyal bstan sgrib la riṅs bžin du/rtsod pa'i kha rlaṅs 'dus pa'i mchog min sprin/raṅ tshugs mi dge'i char du skyug pa gžan/(P. 9a-II, line 5:) sde bcas bcom pa'i rgyal thabs sñan pa'i rṅa 34.

ma bskul 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po bžin/(P. 9a-I, line 5:) raṅ sgra 'byin pa'i sa gsum gdul žiṅ du/gyur kyaṅ grags pa ltar dkar bka' btags (BL: (b)rtags) kyis/(P. 9a-II, line 6:) reg pas bdud rtsir grol ba rdzambu'i gliṅ 35.

zag med bcud du riṅ ba'i rluṅ sbyor gyis/sku lus mthu bskyed zas kyi rgyu ba (P. 9a-I, line 6:). gžan/bkag pa'i dam bca' brtan las thun moṅ ba'i/dad gsum 'tsho ba'i rten bžag rnam smin lus 36.

(*P. 9b-II*, line 1:) 'gro yid dag pa'i mkha' la 'char ba'i sku/rdzu

’phrul rkaṅ pa’i stobs kyis dpal ri sogs/ṅo mtshar žiṅ maṅ gśegs (*P. 9b-I,* line 1:) te rtsa gsum lha’i/bka’ gnaṅ bdud rtsi thob nas mṅon byaṅ chub 37.

bstan la ston pa gñis pa khyod kho nar/sras bcas (P. 9b-II, line 2:) rgyal bas bsṅags la su žig smon/rtsa gsum lha yis dgyes bžin blaṅ dor gyi/luṅ bstan dbyaṅs daṅ lhan cig me tog ’thor 38.

bži stoṅ lhag pa’i brgyad (P. 9b-I, line 2:) khri’i chos phuṅ glu/rgyal bas dpal gyi mgur nas sṅon (P. 9b-II, line 3:) blaṅs kyi/rtsibs stoṅ gser gyi ’khor lo bar med du/’jig rten gsum gyi khoṅ par bskor ba bžin 39.

rigs daṅ stobs ’byor dregs pa’i ṅa ro yis/(P. 9b-I, line 3:) rnam sad kheṅs pa (P. 9b-II, line 4:) ’phrog la ’dus pa’i ’khor/graṅs med bskal pa’i mthu bžin ’tsham pa’i snod/re ba bkaṅ de chos kyi ’khor lo’i gtam 40.

bden pa’i rgyud gcig las ’phos zab mo’i sgras/phyogs kun rdzogs (P. 9b-II, line 5:) pa thams cad (P. 9b-I, line 4:) mkhyen pa’i gsuṅ/thos pa’i mod la lus sems ’phrog pa’i sgra/bcom nas ži ba’i ’bras thob las ldan maṅ 41.

mkha’ daṅ mñam pa’i sems can ’di dag gi/bsod nams zla ñi’i sgron mes btsal ba’i phul/(P. 9b-II, line 6:) dpe byad mtshan dpe’i mdzes pa (P. 9b-I, line 5:) kun rdzogs pa’i/rnam ’dren gsaṅ ba gsum gyi phuṅ po ’dis 42.

ṅes par gyo ba ’dus byas rnam bži’i sgra/mi sñan thos (*P. 10a-II,* line 1:) pa’i ro de ži ba’i mthus/bśig pa’i mdzad pas bskal pa’i bar du yaṅ/gnas (P. 9b-I, line 6:) par ston pa rdo rje sñiṅ po’i skur 43

bžeṅs kyaṅ las kyis sbar ba srid pa’i me/dam (P. 10a-II, line 2:) chos bdud rtsi’i rgyun gyis bsad pa’i mthar/tshur mthoṅ brgya pa’i ’dus byas mtshon pa’i slad/(*P. 10a-I,* line 1:) chos srid mdzad pa zab rgyas glaṅ chen khal 44.

ñam chuṅ byi ba bdag la ches bkal ba’i/blaṅ dor žal gdams du ma daṅ bcas te/re žig mdzad pa’i tha ma myaṅ ’das kyi/tshul tsam lha daṅ mkha’ ’gros dag žiṅ draṅs 45.

de (P. 10a-I, line 2:) ltar dam pa’i mdzad pa mdor bsdus su/kun tu bzaṅ po’i chu khur gyis ṅal ba/sba bar ma nus bstod tshig sñan pa’i dbyaṅs/sgra brgya tsam žig dad pa’i sṅon ’gror spel 46.

byaṅ chub sñiṅ po ma ’khrugs gtsaṅ ma ku śa’i stan la gyo med dam bcas bde ba’i skyil mo kruṅ bkod dgoṅs pa mṅon bžag tiṅ ’dzin rñog med yul la cher gzigs (P. 10a-I, line 4:) gaṅ/dga’ rab (P. 10a-II, line 4:) dbaṅ phyug sde daṅ bcas pas ma bzod rab tu gtum po’i dpuṅ gi tshogs bcas ’gyed par brtsams kyaṅ rno ba’i mtshon rnams ’jam mñen me tog sil ma’i khams su ’bab/(P. 10a-I, line 5:) ’dod pa’i gyo (P. 10a-II, line 5:) sgyus bslu bar brtson gaṅ mkha’ dbyiṅs utpala chun por sñeg mtshuṅs ’bras bus stoṅs pa mthun pa’i rkyen gyi bsod nams daṅ ni ye nas śes pa yoṅs su rdzogs/’gal rkyen ñon moṅs śes bya’i sgrib spaṅs ’bras bu sku gsum yoṅs su grub pa (P. 10a-I, line 6:) bu ram śiṅ pa lha mi'i gtsug (P. 10a-II, line 6:) rgyan srid daṅ ži ba kun gyis bsṅags yul gaṅ der 'dud 47.

tshaṅs pa bde 'byuṅ sred med bu sogs che bar mṅon rlom ñes maṅ srid pa'i mtsho chen ma brgal 'dod daṅ khro ba gti mug skyon gyi tshogs kyaṅ mthar ma byas/rdzogs byed la sogs ston par grags (*P. 10b-I,* line 1:) kyaṅ kha cig rtag daṅ (*P. 10b-II,* line 1:) la la chad pa'i lam gol sñiṅ po byaṅ chub mchog gi dga' ba'i ro bral de rnams las riṅ žig/ tshogs gñis bya dga'i khur gyi dpag bsam sdoṅ bu gyur za ldem par bsñen sriṅ mi mna' 'gro ba kun la byams pa don ldan 'bras bu ro bda'i gyaṅ chags pa/ e ma saṅs rgyas dri (P. 10b-I, line 2:) za'i rgyud maṅ (P. 10b-II, line 2:) bdud sde dpuṅ gi gru chen 'jig pa'i mthu mṅa' skyon zad yon tan 'ba' žig pa yi gter der rnam pa kun tu 'dud 48.

dpal gyi mgur nas gžom du med pa rtsal gsum yoṅs rdzogs rnam dpyod mchog gi gdoṅ lṅa'i sgra dbyaṅs mi zad brgyad khri daṅ ni bži stoṅ graṅs kyi chos (P. 10b-I, line 3:) phuṅ po/yid can khams daṅ (P. 10b-II, line 3:) dbaṅ por 'tsham pa'i rab sñan yan lag drug cu gsuṅ mthor sgrog pa'i skad kyis sgrib gñis lag ldan 'dar daṅ lhan cig don sñiṅ śubs las phyuṅ/(P. 10b-I, line 4:) sa yi 'og rol lag 'gro'i sde chen sa (P. 10b-II, line 4:) bla legs bris nor 'dzin khyon spyod skye dgur bcas te 'jig rten gsum gyi rgud pa'i rims kyi 'jigs pa chen po yi/srog len bkra śis gyas su 'dzum pa'i skye ba lṅa pa zab ciṅ rgya che dam pa'i chos kyi rab dkar 'dzin khri gdug pa'i gśed du gyur der dṅos kun 'dud 49.

(P. 10b-I, line 5:) rgyal ba bskyed pa'i ma (P. 10b-II, line 5:) smad sa bon chos kyi gži la rab tu gnas te mṅon du gyur las rgyal ba'i myu gu mi ldog 'phel bar ṅes mthoṅ rig grol gyi/yon tan rgyu skar bye ba'i dbus na gžan la phan par dga' ba'i 'phrin las bdud rtsi stoṅ du 'dzag pas mtha' med mkha' daṅ mñam por soṅ ba'i lus can gyi/(P. 10b-I, line 6:) las daṅ ñon moṅs (P. 10b-II, line 6:) tsha ba'i reg bya rnon po'i gduṅ ba ma lus 'phrog la ñer dpa' rtag tu dga' ba phan daṅ bde ba'i dam pa'i grib tu bsil ba can/bsod nams yon gnas mchog tu gyur ba'i 'phags tshogs dge 'dun mtshan mo'i mgon po (*P. 11a,* line 1:) rab dkar bcu drug cha śas kun nas rdzogs pa sa gsum gtsug rgyan khyod la 'dud 50.

bsod nams brgya pa'i mdzes sku mtshan dpe'i padmo rnam par bžad las mchog gi bsuṅ žim 'thul de mthoṅ daṅ reg gaṅ don ldan 'gyur la mtshar ba'i dṅos (line 2:) ci žig/thos daṅ bsam pa dran tsam gyis kyaṅ ñes maṅ chu yi srin bus rtag rtsen mtha' med ya ṅa 'khor ba'i mtsho groṅ 'jigs pa'i mthu ni yoṅs su mṅon par grub/e ma tshe daṅ ye śes dpag med brñes (line 3:) pa'i mgon po brtse ldan mi zad thugs rje'i gter mṅa' bskal maṅ tshogs gñis ma lus rdzogs pa'i phul byuṅ lha yi mchog/dga' skyid tshor ba sbom por gyur ba'i bde ba can žes don mthun dag pa’i žiṅ de’i ston pa bla na med gaṅ mchod do bskal par tshe yi dṅos grub stsol 51.

rgyal ba kun gyi sñiṅ rje yi ni spyi (line 4:) yi gzugs gyur tshad med nam mkha’i dkyil ’khor mtha’ ltar rab tu ches yaṅs ’jig rten la ni mṅon par dbaṅ phyug ciṅ/mtha’ bral dpag tu med pa gaṅgā’i kluṅ gi rdul tshogs graṅs las riṅ por yoṅs brgal rgyud lṅa’i sems can khams kyi mgon po gcig pu de ni padmas mtshan/(line 5:) sgrib mun miṅ du gtan bcoms ye śes snaṅ ba’i mdzod du ’bar ba’i saṅs rgyas sa la thog ma med nas mṅon par phyin kyaṅ thub pa chen po bcom ldan gyi/zab rgya’i ’phrin las ’bum sde’i sgo brgya ’byed la khyad par can gyi (line 6:) sems dpa’i ṅaṅ tshul gru ’dzin žiṅ bdag rdo rje ñi ma rtag mchod tshe rabs byin rlabs stsol 52.

srid pa ’di na gaṅ yaṅ grub pa brtan daṅ rnam par gyo ba’i dṅos po brgya phrag dpal gyi baṅ mdzod yan lag brgyad ldan rab daṅs mṅar ba’i chu rgyun gyis/lus can yoṅs kyi bži brgya rtsa bži’i dbul (*P. 11b*, line 1:) ba’i duḥkha kun nas gžil mthar bde skyid lha yi dbaṅ thaṅ la sbyor bcom ldan ku ru kuller yoṅs grags pa/dmar ba’i mdaṅs chags byu ru’i lhun po ñi ma stoṅ gi gzi byin daṅ ni gcig tu ’dres ba’i dpal las lhag par ’od ’bar yid ’phrog rgyal ba bskyed pa’i yum/’jam mñen rnam bkra’i (line 2:) utpala rgyud du bkug pa’i sgro ldan yid srubs sñiṅ gi ’bugs la dpa’ bo’i ru mtshon srid rtser bsgreṅ de mchod do ’dod dgu’i dṅos grub stsol 53.

gaṅ zig padma’i lte ba ñid las raṅ byuṅ mtshan dpe’i rgyan gyi mdzes pa rab gsal thabs daṅ śes rab zuṅ ’jug dpal ldan rdo rje ’chaṅ ba’i lha/gaṅ (line 3:) žig sgyu ma’i rnam ’phrul mtshan ni brgyad du grags kyaṅ sems can khams kyi khyad par ji bžin žiṅ khams rgya mtshor de sñed skye ba’i snaṅ cha ’dzin/gaṅ žig chags bral ži ba’i thugs ni rnam mi rtog kyaṅ (line 4:) gsaṅ chen bcud kyi zag med bde ster chos dbyiṅs gzuṅ ma ’tsho rgyal yum daṅ mñam sbyor bas/gaṅ žig ’jig rten ’jig rten las ’das dṅos grub gter ni yaṅ dag thob mtshon tshe daṅ ye śes mñam med mtsho skyes rdo rje gtan gyi skyabs de bsṅags 54.

sniṅ rje’i gter chen thugs rje’i raṅ (line 5:) gzugs rgyal bstan gsal slad gaṅs ri’i ljoṅs ’dir mi rje’i tshul bzuṅ tho ri gñan btsan dam pa’i chos kyi khyad sṅon skyes/mi rabs lṅa na don rig ’byuṅ bar luṅ gis bstan ltar sroṅ btsan sgam po ñin mor byuṅ bas phan bde’i gdugs dkar snaṅ ba gcig tu brdal ba las/(line 6:) (BL:) tshaṅs pa lha yi me tog bžad par lo paṇ mkhas maṅ buṅ ba’i tshogs kyis luṅ rtogs sbraṅ rtsir che dgar loṅs su spyod las bsgyur ’chad mñan bsam gyis/bstan pa rin chen gsal bar byed po mṅa’ bdag khri lde gtsug brtan la sogs rgyal ba’i myu gu chos kyi (*P. 12a*, line 1:) rgyal po rim par byon rnams bsṅags par ’os 55.

phun tshogs sbyin pa’i dpal ldan ’byor bas phyogs kun rdzogs pa’i snaṅ ba

Funding by IKS-MoE

rab yaṅs yid bžin nor bu rin chen daṅ/mtho ris gnas na rgya cher grags pa’i lha yi loṅs spyod sloṅ ba tshim byed dri (line 2:) bsuṅ yoṅs ’du’i śiṅ dag gi/ṅo mtshar mdzes pa’i khyad par las ’das gzan don spyod pa mchog gi mthu ldan ’jam dpal rdo rje btsoṅ kha pa’i/rjes ’gror ṅes pa srid na med phyir raṅ (line 3:) ñid mtshuṅs par bstan de sa gsum ’gro ba kun gyis bsṅags bya’i yul 56.

rgyal ba’i bstan pa’i gži ma so thar khrims kyi thog ma’i bslab pa gsum ldan sgo ’byed ñer sbas daṅ mtshuṅs paṇ chen blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan rje/mtha’ dag bstan pa’i chu kluṅ kun ’dus rtogs pa don gyi gtiṅ (line 4:) mtha’ rab yaṅs bkra śis gter phyug bsod nams mchog ldan ’khon ston dpal ’byor lhun grub žabs/(line 5:) thams cad mkhyen pa’i gsaṅ ba kun chub bu ston chos rjer grags sñan dkar po zla ba’i dper bya rin chen bsod nams mchog gi mthu las yoṅs grub mtshan/de dag žabs zuṅ mi phyis dri bral bcas min mdzes pa’i ’khor lo’i rgyan ldan dge ba’i ri mo kun ’char ’jig rten gsum gyi gtsug rgyan rnam bžir (line 6:) bstod 57.

’od stoṅ ldan pas lus can kun la ñin mo’i dus ston ri boṅ can gyis bsil byed daṅ/padmas mdzes pa sman gyis nad sel daṅ gso śis pa dpag bsam śiṅ gis ’dod dgu sti/sñiṅ stobs che rnams gžan la phan pa lhan skyes ñid yin khyab (*P. 12b*, line 1:) bdag chos dbyiṅs raṅ grol daṅ/bla gras mchog gi rdo rje’i sar gśegs padma’i gduṅ ’tshob gter bdag gliṅ par daṅ bas bstod 58.

de sogs ’jig rten gsal ba’i ’od ’phro ñin mor byed pa’i dkyil ’khor ram/yaṅ na mdo sṅags gsar rñiṅ zab chos bdud rtsi ’bebs pa’i bśes gñen tshogs/(line 2:) ’char nub gžan dbaṅ sgrib pa’i dgra bcom sniṅ stobs ’od kyis bsil ba dag/spo bas tsha zer can min rdo rje ’dzin gyi ri bo’i tshogs rnams bstod 59.

śes bya kun daṅ tshad ma’i gnas lugs draṅ por ston la phyogs glaṅ bžin du sbogs (line 3:) pa’i mgrin pa rab mthor ’degs mkhas dkon cog chos ’phel ’jam dbyaṅs dṅos/sgra sñan mdor brjod sdeb sbyor la sogs legs bśad ’chad la gser mṅal can ltar rig byed tshogs gter smon ’gro’i paṇ chen dpyod ldan dga’ ba rgyas (line 4:) pa’i gñen/phyi rol rtogs pa dus kyi ’khor lo’i dka’ ba’i gnad la sñan pa’i dril ’khrol phug pa yab sras bžed pa’i srol ’dzin ldum po don grub dbaṅ rgyal sogs/snaṅ ba’i bdag ñid ñi ma bžin du mchog dman ’gro la phan pa ’ba’ žig mdzad pa’i mkhas dbaṅ tshogs la me tog daṅ bcas (line 5:) sñim pa zum žiṅ bstod 60.

gser gyi ri daṅ gur kum chu gter ’char ka’i mdaṅs ldan tsha zer can gyi snaṅ brñan ṅos/ mtshan dpe’i ’khor lor dag pa’i raṅ bžin brgya phrag gcig daṅ bcu gñis rgyan gyis bgro ba med/rmad byuṅ gtam gyi ri mo de dag yoṅs rdzogs snod gyur laṅ tshos dregs myos (line 6:) gžon nu’i skur/srid na ’jam pa’i dbyaṅs su rab bsñad lhag pa’i lha kyi ye śes snaṅ ba’i sgo phye mdzod 61.

thugs bskyed smon lam graṅs rdzogs chos kun rig pa’i lam mchog ster mkhas dbyaṅs ldan ma’i/gzugs (*P. 13a,* line 1:) sku’i mtshar sdug lta bas maṅ ma drug cu’i sgra tshogs kun ’dus nā da’i gsuṅ/spros ba ñer ži’i thugs ni ston zla rab rgyas tshaṅs pa’i dbyaṅs daṅ chu gter las/rgal bar des so mche byuṅ lha mos ṅag gi ’dod pa ma lus ’jo bar mdzod 62.

lha yi dbaṅ (line 2:) por gdeṅs can gyis bžin chu khur gyis lci chu ’dzin ’phreṅ bas mkha’ la bžin/nam mkha’ yis ni sa gžir rab ’khruṅs lo tog la bžin des kyaṅ lus cań tshogs la bžin/(line 3:) dṅos grub rin chen ’dod pa’i dpyid ’jo dus dgra’i dbaṅ po ’khor ’das phyag rgya zil gnon daṅ/’jigs pa dag kyaṅ ’jigs byed la sogs yi dam lha yis bar chad gyul las rgyal bar mdzod 63.

mig sman daṅ ni byu ru’i lhun por dgod daṅ drags śul ’jigs ruṅ la sogs rnam ’gyur gsal (line 4:) ba’i gar dgu daṅ/rta gdoṅ gis ri bskal pa’i žugs daṅ rmoṅs byed sṅags kyis phyogs kun btab pa’i rluṅ nag ’tshub mes rab bskor te/bstan daṅ de ’dzin ’gro la phan phyir bgrod dka’i žiṅ bgrod rdzu ’phrul śugs (line 5:) ’chaṅ blaṅ dor ’byed pa dmag zor lha/mthu ldan zaṅs kyi beg tse lcam sriṅ ’od ldan dkar sogs chos skyoṅ sruṅ mas tshul ’di grub pa’i ’phrin las mdzod 64.

e ma phyag na padma ’gror brtse ba’i/sgrib bral ṅur smrig zol ’chaṅ rdo rje’i sku/khyab bdag bla ma’i rtogs pa brjod pa’i glu/bdag (line 6:) blo byis pas len pa’i go skabs ci 65.

’on te naṅ gsaṅ mdzad pa’i chu gter che/kun gyi spyod pa’i yul du mi gyur mod/thuṅ moṅ phyi yi mdzad pa’i cha phra mo/hub gcig gis kyaṅ skom pa sel ba ltar 66.

legs ñes laṅ tsho rgyas pa’i rū pa ka/sñan ’jebs (*P. 13b,* line 1:) tshig gis ma bsgribs gsal ba ru/ston par miṅ don mtshuṅs pa’i du kū la/glegs bam gsum gyi ’phro ru bsgrubs pa ’di 67.

ma yin yin daṅ yin la min žes pa’i/ma dag rdzun gtam smras na dam pa khrel/ma dam dam bstod raṅ bžin brjod pa yi/ma ’khyogs srid sgrub (line 2:) mda’ mched ’di na o 68.

TRANSLATION

The Fourth (Volume), continuing the Third Volume of the ordinary, outer Biography*, (entitled) "The Fine Silken Dress", of my own gracious lama, Ṅag-dbaṅ Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho.

He who is the impartial lord of (the true) religion, who has gone to the (very) limit of the learning which is possessed by the Lord of Speech himself; who wears the fearless armour of the speech (which speaks) of the ocean of means for disciplining the good fortune of the mind to the setting-forth: discussion and establishment (of the truth),

The lotus of the five (branches of whose) learning is full-blown[1] because of the words, smilingly spoken, by the fully-grown daughter of Brahmā[2], (speaking of) the teaching of the Buddha in general and the activities of listening-to and thinking-on the injunctions of bTsoṅ-kha-pa (in particular),

(Whose) discernment (rNam-dPyod), having conquered Saṁsāra by the Vajra-sword, is the guide to (all) beings on the path of the ripening (of actions) and liberation (therefrom),

(Who is) possessed of the full youthfulness, especially noble, which is capable of destroying (even) the arrogant pride of the six-faced (god)[3],

May the holy, gracious lama, who, because of his knowledge, difficult to measure, (is) indeed Mañjuśrīghosha, looking – with wide open eyes, (filled with) supreme happiness – on the creatures of the three worlds, as their friend, protect us in all (our) lives[4]. 1.

---

* The Sanskrit version of the title is: Prasādavan mūlasya guru vāg-indra sumati sā(ga) rasya sāmānya paraśya vimoksha dukūlasya suvastrasya tri-pustakasya stāraṇa caturtham viharati sma.

Note that the words *phyi'i rnam thar*, which I have translated as "outer Biography"—i.e., a Biography of the outer life (of the Dalai Lama)—have been translated into Sanskrit as *parasya vimoksha*, "the release of others' (from Saṁsāra). The "outer life" is, therefore, lived for the salvation of others. It is only this life that Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho sets out to narrate in his *rtogs-brjod*, *avadāna*, record of deeds.

[1] Verse 1, line 2 *yoṅs grol ba* means, literally, "fully released" but, since we are talking about (the petals of) a lotus, the translation "full-blown" seems more appropriate.

[2] Verse 1, line 2 *tshaṅs pa'i sras mo*, "the daughter of Brahmā", is Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.

[3] Verse 1, line 3 *gdoṅ drug*, "the six-faced (god)", Shaḍānana, is Skanda, the god of war.

The benign aspect[5] of his compassion is (like) a stalk—which has conquered the virtue-destroying troops of Māra—bearing the ears (of the grain) of his omniscience.

His nature, which grants liberation (from Saṁsāra) to all, appearing as knowledge, which cannot be described in words, bestows power in all three times.

Even to those of great intelligence, he bestows understanding. (Even) in the Age of Goodness, his great spiritual merit, possessed of the five certainties, was a (large) snow-covered lake.

Having perfected all the virtues of Saṁsāra and Nirvāna[6], may this excellent incarnation of the non-Saṁsāric[7] Buddha, bearing the white lotus (in his hand), be victorious. 2.

[8]Having seen you, (who are) the ocean of the goodness of the eighteen pure special *dharmas*[9], (even) the river of Brahmā[10], possessed of spotless understanding, should feel ashamed and go up (= back) to the sky. 3.

Having fully acquired the teaching of the All-Knowing Blo-bzaṅ grags-pa[11], what wonder (have you acquired) ! Even the ocean of all (other) creeds circumambulate (around) it, keeping (it) to their right. This is great wonder indeed ! 4.

O Lord of Good Fortune, by means of a transformation (rnam-'gyur) of understanding and conscience, your unchanging words (become like) Indra's sword, the (mere) remembrance of which is death (mthar-byed) to the world of desires[12], the womb of the demons. 5.

---

[4] Verse 1, line 4 This line is almost illegible in the India Office Library xylograph.

[5] Verse 2, line 1 *ris bda'* I translate as "benign aspect".

[6] Verse 2 line 4 *srid ži* = Saṁsāra (*srid*) and Nirvāna (*ži*).

[7] Verse 2, line 4 *'khor ba med pa*, "non-Samsāric" = non-transmigratory.

[8] Verses 3-5 form a group. Each verse contains 4 lines, each line 7 syllables.

[9] Verse 3, line 2 *khyad chos bco brgyad.* For the 18 "special *dharmas*" of the Buddha, see E. Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India* (London, Geo. Allen & Unwin 1962), pp. 169-170 & Louis de La Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu (Brussels, 1971), ch. VII, 28a-b (= Vol. 5, pp. 66-67).

[10] Verse 3, line 1 *tshaṅs pa'i kluṅ*, "the river of Brahmā", is the Brahmaputra.

[11] Verse 4, line 1 Blo-bzaṅ grags-pa = bTsoṅ-kha-pa.

[12] Verse 5, line 3 *'dod srid* = Kāmaloka or Kāmadhātu = the world of desires or the sphere in which the sense-organs operate, the sensual sphere.

Funding by IKS-MoE

(*Homage to the Body of the Dalai Lama:*)[13]

You are the friend (guide)[14] of the many assemblies of (monks of) good understanding, who are skilled in picking out (for discussion) the learned speech which is difficult to weigh-up even by the god, the Lord of Speech (himself). (These) embodied beings, who see the transcendental truth which is your body, are the subtle eyes who will, in turn, show (you) to others. 6.

(*Homage to the Speech of the Dalai Lama:*)

Famed as "the medicine which destroys the disease of Saṁsāra", the words of the heavenly religion, (emanating) from the immeasureable great house of (your) throat, are the exhortatory sounds which have travelled to the very limits of the world[15]. 7.

(*Homage to the Mind of the Dalai Lama:*)

(Your) mind, which was repeatedly transformed ('byuṅ-'gyur) into the (outward) form of the actions ('phrin-las) of a master (rje) who is skilled (mkhas) in explaining all the teachings of Mañjuśrīghosha, was (in reality) Brahmā, the creator of inconceivable joy, who became the friend (guide)[16] of all (beings). (Even) the sky appeared small (by comparison with your mind). 8.

(*I. His migration from the Pure Region:*)[17]

The "treasure" (mdzod) of the celestial tree (yoṅs-'du), which is the richness ('byor-pa) of the fruit (= offerings) of the two classes (clergy and laity), having fully opened through the magic of the power of the truth of (religious) injunctions, which appeared as royal commands, the rain of what was wished for as the ripening (of actions) (rained down). From the Potala palace of All-Encompassing Compassion[18], (9).

The steps of non-rebirth and rebirth (leading down) were the family of sa-ho-ra. It was (like) a tree of Nirvānic bliss. Cooled by the magic which released the rgyal-maṅ flowers, that very tall (tree) was a matter of joy to all (beings) in the three worlds. 10.

---

[13] Verses 6, 7 and 8 form a group and pay homage, respectively, to the Body (*sku*), Speech (*gsuṅ*) and Mind (*thugs*) of the Dalai Lama.

[14] *gÑen* in verse 6, line 2 and *bśes* in verse 8, line 4, both stand for *dge ba'i bśes gñen* = kalyāṇa-mitra = "good friend" or spiritual guide.

[15] Verse 7, line 4, *'dzam gliṅ* = "the world". See note 23, below.

[16] See note 14, above.

[17] Verses 9, 10 and 11 refer to the first of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: His migration from the Pure Region (*dag žiṅ n as 'pho ba*).

[18] Verse 9, line 4, *kun khyab thugs rje*, "All-Encompassing Compassion", is *sPyan ras gzigs*, Avalokiteśvara.

The maṇḍala of your body, which emits the hundred lights of a fresh blessing, which has done whatever good has been done here, having broken the continuity of the denseness which darkens like an (overcast) sky, bestowed wonders which came from the holy region. 11.

(*II. His entry into the womb*:)[19]

The "ear-ornament of the Ṛishi"[20], which is as wonderful as the body of "the king of the sky"[21], coming down gently – in response to wishes and prayers for good fortune – from the path of deathlessness[22], cleanses the impurities of the living beings of India[23], by means of her large waves of benefit and happiness. 12.

The marks (possessed by Gaṅgā) of having (a) a body which was strong with the faith which drinks up the ocean of slander, (b) a voice as well-sounding as the (conch-shell which) turns to the right and does good (to the world) and (c) a womb which was capable of destroying the disease of Saṁsāra, (plagued by) the three poisons[24], fell, in large measure, on the mother herself. 13.

The wonderful "eye" was opened[25] by the visible "stick". That likeness[26], (drawn) in the (likeness of a) descendant of the gods[27], being spotlessly cleans-

---

[19] Verses 12, 13 and 14 refer to the second of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: His entry into the womb (*lhums su žugs*).

[20] Verse 12, line 4 *ri byi'i rna rgyan ma*, "the ear-ornament of the Ṛishi". The "ear-ornament" of the Ṛishi Jahnu is Gaṅgā (the river Ganges), who was imprisoned in, and set free from, the ear of Jahnu. Hence her name *Jāhnavī*. See J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary* 6th edn., London, Kegan Paul, 1928), p. 108. There is, perhaps, a play on words here, because *rna rgyan ma* ("ear-ornament") also, perhaps, means *kuṇḍalinī*.

[21] Verse 12, line 3 *nam mkha' rgyal po*, the "King of the Sky", is the Moon.

[22] Verse 12, line 1 *'chi med lam nas skal ldan 'dod gsol ṅor*, (literally) "From the path of deathlessness, in response to wishes and prayers for good fortune". There may be a play on words here, because *'chi med chab* (the river of deathlessness) is the Ganges and *skal ldan śiṅ rta* is Bhagīratha, who was responsible for bringing the Ganges to earth. Hence her name Bhāgīrathī (*skal. ldan śiṅ rta'i bu mo*).

[23] Verse 12, line 2 *'dzam gliṅ* is best translated here as "India", See note 15, above.

[24] Verse 13, line 3 *dug gsum*, the three poisons = Lust (*'dod pa, kāma*), anger (*khro ba, krodha*) and ignorance (*gti mug, moha*).

[25] Verse 14 line 1 *phye pa* = pf. of *'byed pa*, to open, &c.

[26] Verse 14, line 2 *bris* = *bris sku*, which Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 578, col. 1, defines by two Chinese characters (Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, nos. 6631 & 2569) which mean "a likeness."

[27] Verse 14, line 2 *rjes 'gro* or, more fully, *rjes su 'gro ba*, is *anvaya* in Sanskrit and means, among other things, "descendants, race, lineage, family" (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 46, col. 2).

Funding by IKS-MoE

ed[28] of the dimness caused by doubt and uncertainty, immediately entered the womb, which had been widened by the nature of compassion. 14.

(*III. His birth*:)[29]

By means of the white light of the moon, the sea of the family of Za-hor ripened into nectar in the womb of fame. Having grown to the tenth (lunar) month with the waves of smiles caused by his having enjoyed himself with unprecedented perfection, at the time appointed to be born, (15)

How wonderful was the perfection of the manner of worshipping (the child), helplessly (performed) by sentient beings as well as by all the demons. Even the goods (offered by) the withered non-Buddhists were like (those offered by other) sentient beings. Having been (thus) greeted by many marks of good fortune, he was born. 16.

Although, as in Lumbinī[30], he was born in the image of Don-grub (Amoghasiddha) and (the signs were) like all the great signs of wonder, Brahmā and Indra did not come together to do reverence (to him). Were they asleep or were they dead[31] ? 17.

(*IV. His youthful sports*:)[32]

His attractive body was the (very) image of virtue (bsod-nams). Its clear marks (mtshan) and signs (dpe)[33] were like the (very) essence of happiness. Having acquired the fulness of a wealth of admirable qualities (yon-tan) which increased daily, even the wisdom of Brahmā was (mere) adolescence[34] (by comparison). 18.

Like a lotus, unsullied[35] even by the tiniest particle of water, was the fragrance of (his) worldly conduct. The sport, which drew all minds (towards itself), performed by the noose of the vows of the Victor who had renounced all, was wonderful. 19.

---

[28] Verse 14, line 3 *phyis* = pf. of *'byi ba*, to be wiped off, effaced.

[29] Verses 15, 16 and 17 form a group and deal with the third of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his birth (*sku bltams pa*).

[30] Verse 17, line 1 *Lumbi* = Lumbinī, the birth-place of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

[31] Verse 17, line 4 *lṅa par gyur* (*pa*) = death. See Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 220, col. 1.

[32] Verses 18, 19 and 20 form a group and deal with the fourth of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his youthful sports (*gžon nu'i rol rtsed*).

[33] Verse 18, line 2 *mtshan dpe*. The Buddha and Bodhisattvas had 32 marks (*mtshan lakshaṇa*) and 80 signs (*dpe anuvyañjana*) on their bodies. See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine* (London, 1932), p. 27. See note 76, below.

[34] Verse 18, line 4 *gžon nu'i dus* = the time of youth = adolescence.

[35] Verse 19, line 2 *ma gos* = "unsullied". *Gos* = pf. of *'go ba*.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Even while drinking a little milk, the boy's prattle was close to the long (and solemn) pronouncements[36] made by ordinary people—(just as) Kārtika, who had taken the vows of holy self-control, drew out the tusk of the indisciplined[37] Gaṇeśa from the front. 20.

(*V. His austere practices*:)[38]

By means of the exalted and limitless practice of the Perfection of Wisdom, which looks upon the three times without attachment, in order to show the insignificance[39] of the common intelligence of this world, he healed the weariness of the (worldly) nature, which is full of fears. 21.

(Verse 23, lines 1-2:) In accordance with the fact that he was a rival at drinking up the ocean of dependence[39a]—(which ocean was contained within) the mountain (sorrounding) the blazing hell-fire (rta-gdoṅ) of the intolerable vows (verse 22, line 4:) of the change-of-mind (dgoṅ-pa dus-'gyur) brought about by the falseness (zol) of the minister[40], (verse 22, line 3:) (whose) body was fully-ripened like the very nature of unhappiness, (which unhappiness was) (verse 22, line 2:) the intoxicating poison roused by the treacherous bite (verse 22, line 1:) of the demons who spread their lust on the corpse of evil—(verse 23, lines 4-5:) such wonders as the receiving of a rain of flowers repeatedly wetted by nectar were the manner (= measure) of his austerities. 2223.

(*VI. His "arising of thought"*:)[41]

(As to) the manner in which he found the path of virtue and knowledge, which (path) was other than the great fascination (mthu) which lies in the crooked line[41a] (=path), drawn ('god) by the brush[41b] of partisanship and followed by the thoughts of the multitude: By means of the disciplinary rules and the teachings which adhered to the former (beliefs). (24)

---

[36] Verse 20, line 2 *riṅ don ñe*. This seems to be the BL reading. The IOL reading is almost illegible. I take *Don* as the equivalent of *'don pa* (to recite, to pronounce, &c.) because the contrast seems to be drawn between the child's prattle (*col chuṅ*) and the (solemn) pronouncements of others.

[37] Verse 20, line 4 *tshul min* = "undisciplined", i.e. one (like Gaṇeśa) who had not taken the vows of self control (as Kārtika had). According to legend, however, it was Paraśu-Rāma, not Kārtika, who was responsible for destroying one of the two tusks of Gaṇeśa. *Glaṅ sna* more fully *glaṅ po che sna* = Gaṇeśa.

[38] Verses 21, 22 and 23 form a group and deal with the fifth of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his austere practices (*dka ba spyad pa*). *dka' ba spyad pa* = *tapasyā*. See Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Kyoto, 1976), Vol. I, p. 71, col. 1.

[39] Verse 21, line 3 *cha tsam* I translate as "insignjficance". Literally, it means "(the fact of being) a mere (*tsam*) part (*cha*)".

[39a] Verse 23, line 2 gžan dbaṅ = the dependent (*paratantra*) nature of existence, as distinct from its imagined (*kun brtags pa, parikalpita*) and real (*yoṅs su grub pa, parinishpanna*) natures.

[40] Verse 22, line 4 The name of the minister, according to Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's footnote, was Mkhyen-rab dpal-bzaṅ.

[41] Verses 24, 25 and 26 form a group and deal with the sixth of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his "arising of thought" (*thugs bskyed, cittotpāda*).

The "arising of thought" filled the (four) directions and (all) the continents with the orb of the sun of religion and (secular) government. In accordance (with this), that very manner (=form) of the means which arose in the spotless sky, was seen as a sign by every mind which grew like (every other) thing having form. 25.

The fruit of good deeds, accumulated for ages by embodied beings, having fallen on the sea of compassion, obtained a nature (ṅos-zin) untainted by doubt (nem-nur). Having been thrice-tested, (its) entirely purified, precious gold-washed light devoured the darkness (phyogs-mun). 26.

(*VII. His renunciation of the world:*)[42]

His wide heart (floated) on the waves of untainted[43] freedom (from Saṁsāra), (which waves were made as) a means of survival by the nectar which quickly repelled the hooded snake—moving its tongue of suffering—from the house which rested on the venomous snake of Saṁsāra. 27.

Through the great ocean of the world of many kingdoms (rgyal-maṅ), on the boat of the entirely pure law of saving individual beings, (following) the practice of riding on the wind of firm and wise friendship[44] (guidance ?) and searching for the precious origin (of all things), he entirely abandoned the world. 28.

This object (rten), worshipped perpetually (rnam-kun-tu) by numberless living beings—scattered far and wide and plagued by 200 poisonous sea-monsters

---

[41a] Verse 24, line 1, *ris* means "figure, form, design", drawn with a brush, &c. Hence, "line". The word seems to have been used for the sake of the metaphor with the word *pir* (brush) in the next line. Perhaps also a pun is intended, because *phyogs ris* (like *phyogs lhuṅ*, *paksha-pāta*, in the next line) means "partiality".

[41b] Verse 24, line 2, *pir* = pencil, pen, brush (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 783, col. 1.) Perhaps this word is derived from the Chinese *pi* (Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, no. 5130).

[42] Verses 27, 28 and 29 form a group and deal with the seventh of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama; his renunciation of the world (*rab tu byuṅ ba*).

[43] Verse 27, line 4, *zag med* = *ȧn-āsrava* = "untainted". The word *āsrava* has been translated as "intoxicant" by Mrs. Rhys-Davids, "canker" by Bhikku Ñānamoli, "out-flow" or "impurity" by Conze and "vice" by La Vallée Poussin. Under the Tibetan equivalent, *zag pa*, Das, p. 1089, col. 2, says "depravity" or "misery, affliction, sorrow". The 4 *āsravas* are (1) sensual desire, (2) desire for rebirth, (3) wrong views and (4) ignorance.

[44] Verse 28, line 3, *mthun sbyor*, which I have translated as "friendship", also means 'a, conjunction of favourable circumstances".

(in) the sea of inherited (deeds), filled with the powerful waves of suffering—was achieved by the Victor of the three times. 29.

(*VIII. His mastery of knowledge*:)[45]

As soon as you had struck, with the fingers of your knowledge, the tamburā (=lute)[46] of that which was to be learnt (śes-bya), with its strings of learning (rig-pa), the sound which showed the true nature (raṅ-mtshan, svalakshaṇa) of all forms of beliefs, (was) also attuned to the sounds of the All-Knowing One. 30

The magic of the truth of the nature of cause and effect — (proceeding) from the words and expressions of what was taught, which was a guide which could not be hindered—became the steps (taken by) minds which were without incompleteness, a place[47] of exalted learning worthy of holy ones. 31.

And that one[48]—the ocean of whose wide learning, with its wide and deep bottom enriched only by the precious treasuries of all religions, was undiscovered even by the two exalted gods – thought: shall I momentarily lean on (my) lute (i.e. stop playing) ? 32.

(*IX. His conquest of other sects*:)[49]

Although he did not have the weapons held by brave warriors in battle, such as a very sharp sword and a strong armour[50], (nevertheless) by means of the Vajra of magical knowledge, he conquered the hordes of demons who raise doubts inside (one's mind). As a sign (of this victory), (33)

The drum (proclaimed) the fame of the means of victory which conquered the non-Buddhists (phyi-rol) – who were (like) innumerable[51] clouds, hurrying to darken the teaching of the Victor, in which (clouds) were gathered the mouth-froth of their dissensions, vomited out as the rain of the unhappiness which was (inherent) in them—together with other sects. 34.

---

[45] Verses 30, 31 and 32 form a group and deal with the eighth of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his mastery of knowledge (*rig pa'i gnas la mkhas Pa*).

[46] Verse 30, line 1 *tambu ra* I translate as "tamburā (=lute)" rather than "tambour", because the reference is, obviously, to the *rgyud maṅ* (lute) of Verse 32, line 4.

[47] Verse 31, line 3 *gnas*, "place" also means "a place of pilgrimage" or "a holy place".

[48] Verse 32, line 1 *de ni*, "that one", i.e. the player of the *tamburā* referred to in verse 30.

[49] Verses 33, 34 and 35 form a group and deal with the ninth of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his conquest of other sects (*gžan sde bcom pa*).

[50] Verse 33, line 1 *go* = *go cha*, "armour".

[51] Verse 34, line 2 *mchog min* = *mchog yas*, q.v. Das, p. 437, col. 2.

Although the three worlds, (over which the drum) sent forth its own sound—like (the drum of) a (Cakravartī) king, who turns round (the three worlds) by means of (his) wheel, without exhortation[52]—became subject-lands, (nevertheless) being (further) touched by his laws (bka’ btags)[52a] which were as white as his fame, the world was released in nectar. 35.

(*X. His attainment of enlightenment:*)[53]

Having long (blown) wind on the essence of undefiledness[54], a non-desire[55] for the "foods"[56] produced by the powers of the body (was brought about). Having made firm the vows of abstention[57], his fully-developed body (became) the basis[58] of living (in accordance with) the ordinary three (acts of) faith[59]. 36.

His body, which arose in the firmament of the pure Saṁsāric mind, having, by means of the strength of its wonder-working powers[60], gone to the many fields of wonders, such as the Beautiful mountain[61], and having obtained the nectar granted by order of the gods of the three veins[62], (obtained) full Enlightenment. 37.

---

[52] Verse 35, line 1 *ma bskul*, "without exhortation", means that the subjects of the Cakravartī king became his subjects without any exhortation or encouragement on his part to induce them to do so. Hence, "effortlessly".

[52a] Verse 35, line 3 BL reads (*b*)*rtags* instead of *btags*. If the BL reading is correct, the translation would be: "by his well-considered laws".

[53] Verses 36, 37 and 38 form a group and deal with the tenth of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his attainment of enlightenment (*mṅon par byaṅ chub pa*).

[54] Verse 36, line 1 *zag med*, "undefiledness". See note 43, above.

[55] Verse 36, line 2 *rgyu ba gžan* I take as an equivalent of *rgyu ba žan pa*, q.v. Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 179, col. 2: ’dod pa med pa la’aṅ. Hence, I translate as "non-desire".

[56] Verse 36, line 2 *zas*, "food", refers, I think, to the 12 *āyatanas*: the 6 sense organs (eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind) and the 6 objects (or "foods") of the senses (visibles, sounds, smells, tastes, tangibles and mental objects). See, in this connection, *zas bži* in Das, p. 1093, cols. 1-2 and Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 759, col. 2.

[57] Verse 36, line 3 *bkag pa’i dam bca’* = *bkag sdom*, Das, p. 59, col. 2.

[58] Verse 36, line 4 *rten bžag* = *rten gži*, Das, p. 538, col. 1; Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 346, col. 2.

[59] Verse 36, line 4 *dad gsum*. See Das, p. 617, col. 1 & Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 390, col. 2.

[60] Verse 37, line 2 *rdzu ’phrul rkaṅ pa* = Ṛiddhi-pāda. See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine* (London, 1932), p. 105.

[61] Verse 37, line 2 *dpal ri*, Śrī-parvata = (?) Mount Sumeru.

Whoever can aspire to the praise which was bestowed on you alone—the second teacher of the Teaching (Buddhism)—by the Victor and his sons? The gods of the three veins joyfully scattered (a) the sounds of the prophecies of the acceptable and the rejectable, as well as (b) flowers. 38.

(*XI. His turning of the wheel of religion:*)[63]

While the golden thousand-spoked wheel[64] of the 84,000[65] Dharma-skandhas[66] previously received from Dpal-gyi-mgur (Śrīkaṇṭha)[67] by the Victor, incessantly revolved inside the three worlds, (39)

His following, gathered together by the proud roar of his high birth, his 10 powers[68] and his 10 possessions[69], was capable of destroying the pride of Rnam-sad[70]. That basket, magically suited to innumerable aeons (of time), filled with hope, was the story of the (turning of the) wheel of religion. 40.

---

[62] Verse 37, line 3 *rtsa gsum*. Das, p. 1007, col. 2, defines the *rtsa gsum kun 'dus* as *sku* (body), *gsuṅ* (speech) and *thugs* (mind). Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 678, col. 2, defines them as "the three veins in the centre of the extended body" (*ro brkyaṅ dbu ma'i rtsa gsum*). There is no contradiction between the two definitions. The three veins which, according to the Yoga of Vajrayāna, run up the centre of the spinal column (*Meru*) are *Rasanā* on the right, *Lalanā*, on the left and *Avadhūti* in the centre. They represent, among other things, the Body, Speech and Mind of the Buddha. See S. B. Das-Gupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1958: reprint, Berkeley, 1974), p. 106 ff.; A. Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras* (London, 1973), p. 180, Table 14.

[63] Verses 39, 40 and 41 form a group and deal with the eleventh of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his turning of the wheel of religion (*chos 'khor bskor ba.*).

[64] Verse 39, line 3 *rtsibs stoṅ*. = *sahasrāra*, the "thousand-spoked" wheel (*cakra*) situated in the crown of the head according to Hindu Yogic theory. The progression from the "three veins" in verse 37 to the "thousand-spoked wheel" in verse 39 should be noted.

[65] Verse 39, line 1 *bži stoṅ lhag pa'i brgyad khri*, "8 ten-thousands with an addition of 4 thousands" = 84,000. See verse 49, line 1.

[66] Verse 39, line 1 *chos phuṅ* = Dharma-skandha, items or categories of the Dharma taught by the Buddha. See verse 49, line 1.

[67] Verse 39, line 2 *dpal gyi mgur* is (etymologically) Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkaṇṭha—usually, Nīlakaṇṭha—is Śiva, but whether or not there is a reference to Śiva in this verse, I do not know. See verse 49, line 1.

[68] Verse 40, line 1 *stobs* = *stobs bcu*, "ten powers". See Das, p. 556, cols. 1-2.

[69] Verse 40, line 1 *'byor*, = *'byor pa bcu*, "ten possessions". Das, p. 927, col. 1.

[70] Verse 40, line 2 *rnam sad*. Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 483, col. 2, defines *rnam sad* by two Chinese characters (Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, nos. 221 and 2776) which mean ("one who is always awake"). Perhaps this refers to Indra, who was also known as *Sahasrāksha*, "he who has a thousand eyes".

Filling all quarters with its deep sounds emanating from the single strand of truth was the word of the All-Knowing One. As soon as the many Karma-possessing[71] persons had heard it, having conquered the sounds which ravish the body and mind, they obtained the fruit of peace. 41.

(*XII. His attainment of a Vajra-body*:)[72]

Although[73] the gift - sought by the lamp of the-Moon-and-the-Sun of the acquired merits (bsod-nams, puṇya) of these sentient beings who are as (extensive as) the sky - (which was) this "collection" (phuṅ-po, skandha)[74] containing the three hidden guides (Buddhas)[75], in which ("collection") were perfected all the beauties of the (80) signs and (32) marks,[76] (42)

(a) Having done (the deed) of destroying, by the magic of Nirvāṇa[77], that body which had heard the unpleasant sounds of the 4 types of transmigratory "compounded things"[78], and (b) living even in the middle of an aeon (of time), ascended[79] to the body of the Teacher Vajrasattva, (43)

---

[71] Verse 41, line 4 *las ldan*, = Karma-possessing.

[72] Verses 42-45 form a group and deal with the last of the 12 deeds of the Dalai Lama: his attainment of a Vajra-body (*rdo rje'i sku brñes pa*) Verse 44, line 3—verse 45, line 4 have been omitted in p. 10a-II.

[73] The main words of the subordinate clause which stretches from the first word of verse 42, line 1 to the second word of verse 44, line 1 are: *phuṅ po 'dis* (verse 42, line 4) . . . *ston pa rdo rje sñiṅ po'i skur*. (verse 43, line 4) *bžeṅs kyaṅ*. (verse 44, line 1), "Although . . . this 'collection' (*phuṅ po.*) . . . ascended to the body of the Teacher Vajra-sattva,".

[74] Verse 42 line 4 *phuṅ po*. The "collection" (of the 5 "aggregates", *phuṅ po, skandha*) is the body of the Dalai Lama, in which, according to this verse, were hidden the 3 "hidden guides".

[75] Verse 42, line 4 *rnam 'dren gsaṅ ba gsum*, the "three hidden guides" are, presumably, the three Buddhas of the three veins mentioned in verses 37 and 38.

[76] Verse 42, line 3 *dpe byad* = *anuvyañjana* = sign; *mtshan dpe* = *lakshaṇa* = mark. See note 33, above.

[77] Verse 43, line 2 *ži ba* = Nirvāṇa.

[78] Verse 43, line 1 *'dus byas rnam bži*, "the 4 types of 'compounded things'. According to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, II, 21c-d—which is, however, a Sarvāstivāda work—the 4 types of "compounded" (*saṁskrita, 'du byas*) *dharmas* are: matter (*rūpa*), the empirical mind (*citta*), conditioning factors associated with the empirical mind (*caittas* or *citta-samprayukta saṁskāras*) and conditioning factors not associated with the empirical mind (*citta-viprayukta saṁskāras*). See La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Vol. I, p. 144. See also Das, p. 687, col. 2—p. 688, col. 1, where he gives a list of 4 *dhātus* (*Kamadhātu, Rūpadhātu, Arūpadhātu* and *Asaṁskritadhātu*) under *'du byas* (*saṁskrita*), the last of which is, however, "uncompounded".

[79] "ascended" (*bžeṅs*) belongs to verse 44, line 1.

(Nevertheless,) at the end of extinguishing the fire of Saṁsāra[80]—kindled by one's actions—by means of the flow of the nectar of the holy religion, his deep and wide deeds (in the spheres of) religion and (secular) government, (done) in order to show (the nature of) "compounded things" in the hundredth manifest world down here[81], were a load (large and heavy enough to be borne by) an elephant. 44.

On me, a small mouse, has (that load) been heavily loaded, together with many instructions about what to accept and what to reject. May the gods and sky-wanderers lead (me) to the Pure Region (after I attain) the mere form of Nirvāṇa[82], at the end of (my) few deeds. 45.

At the abridgement of the holy deeds (of the Dalai Lama) in this manner, (even) the cloud (of the followers) of Kun-tu bzaṅ-po[83], (although) unable to conceal their fatigue[84], composed (spel) about a hundred words only of sweet-sounding expressions of praise, as a precursor (= token) of their faith[85]. 46[86].

***　***　***

(*Homage to the Buddha*:)

He whose Bodhi-essence was unshaken as he sat, with unwavering vow, on the seat of pure kuśa grass, in an attitude of bliss, and fixed his gaze wholly on the point where his meditation, in which all his thoughts were placed, was undisturbed;

---

[80] Verse 44, line 1 *srid pa* = *Saṁsāra*.

[81] Verse 44, line 3 *mtshur mthoṅ* = the "manifest world down here". In verse 21, line 3, I have translated the same word as "this world".

[82] Verse 45, lines 3-4 *myaṅ 'das kyi tshul tsam*, "the mere form of Nirvāṇa", which was all that Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho felt he could hope for—not the full Nirvāṇa which the Dalai Lama achieved.

[83] Verse 46, line 2 *kun tu bzaṅ po* = Samantabhadra, the Rñiṅ-ma-pa Ādi-Buddha.

[84] Verse 46, lines 2-3 *ṅal ba sba bar ma nus* = "unable to conceal their fatigue" at the effort of having to compose even as few as "a hundred words only".

[85] Verse 46, line 4 *dad pa* "their faith", i.e., in the Dge-lugs-pa Dalai Lama.

[86] Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's footnote at the end of verse 46: žes rje bla ma ṅid kyi thun moṅ ba'i mdzad pa gsuṅ gsum sogs la mchan sgra bcas bstod bsṅags (P. 10a-II, line 3:) kyi tshogs daṅ thun moṅ min pa (P. 10a-I, line 3:) saṅs rgyas kho na daṅ mtshuṅs pa'i phyir mdzad pa bcu gñis daṅ sbyar ba'i bsṅags bstod kyi tshogs bcas soṅ nas śis pa brjod pa dṅos kyi rim pa la.

Thus, the group of laudatory verses, (lauding) the ordinary deeds of the Lord Lama in three verses (verses 6-8), together with footnotes, as well as the group of laudatory verses (9-46) connected with his 12 extraordinary deeds (which were made) for the sake of comparison with the Buddha only, being over, (we proceed) to the series of the actual pronouncements of blessings.

Although the god of love and his followers began to deploy, together with their intolerable and very fierce armies, (against him,) (nevertheless,) their sharp swords fell down on the ground as fragments of sweet and soft flowers.

Whose virtue (bsod-nams), necessary for rendering every effort to beguile him with the beguilement of desire as empty of result as chasing a bunch of flowers in the sky, was his fully-perfected knowledge;

He who had fully acquired the three bodies which are the result of his casting aside the darkness produced by the knowledge based on the vice[87] which is the cause of error; he who was the descendant of Ikshvāku, the crest-jewel of gods and men, the object of praise by all in this life and in Nirvāṇa, to him I bow. 47.

Brahmā, Śiva, Vishṇu[88] and the others, being greatly conceited, did not cross the vast sea of (this) life, with its many evils, and also did not put an end to its vices of lust, anger and ignorance.

Although Pūraṇa-Kāśyapa[89] and the others were renowned as teachers, the essence of some permanent and some transitory[90] heterodox creeds[91]—being devoid of the fragrance produced by the joy of supreme enlightenment – were at some distance from these (renowned teachers).

The bough of the wish-fulfilling (tree), being heavy with the weight of the favours bestowed on it by the two classes (clergy and laity), was indifferent[92] to opposition (from unbelievers) and produced the blessing of the sweet-smelling fruit of true love towards all living beings. O, the Buddha destroyed the vices of (a) the lute of the Gandharvas, (b) the boat (carrying) the hordes of the armies of Māra and (c) the magical power of the Destroyer[93]. The treasury of his heart (contained) only virtue (and no vice). To him, at all times, I bow. 48

---

[87] Verse 47, line 4 *ñon moṅs* = *kleśa*, "corruption" or "torment" (Rhys-Davids); "defilement" (Nānamoli, Conze). See Das, p. 490, col. 1.

[88] Verse 48, line 1 *tshaṅs pa* = Brahmā, *bde 'byuṅ* = Śiva, *sred med bu* = Vishṇu.

[89] Verse 48, line 2 *rdzogs byed* = *rdzogs byed 'od sruṅ* = Pūraṇa Kāśyapa. Das, p. 967, col. 2 & Lokesh Chandra, Vol. II, p. 2005, col. 1.

[90] Verse 48, line 2 *rtag* and *chad* = permanent and temporary, respectively.

[91] Verse 48, line 2 *lam gol* = literally, "divergent paths"; hence, heterodox creeds.

[92] Verse 48, line 3 *bsñen (b)sriṅ mi mṅa* = *ñe riṅ med pa*, q.v. Das, p. 487, col. 1, "impartial".

[93] Verse 48, line 4 (a), (b) and (c) refer, possibly, to the three vices of lust, anger and ignorance (mentioned in verse 48, line 1), left undestroyed by Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu.

Funding by IKS-MoE

(*Homage to the Dharma*:)

Not only the sounds of the five-faced god (Śiva)[94]—who had perfected the three skills and was possessed of supreme discernment – (emanating) continuously from his lovely neck[94a], but also the words of the most sweet-sounding sixty-limbed sayings which were the 84,000 Dharma-skandhas suited to the sphere of the mind and the faculties, made the elephant of the two obscurations tremble and brought out (the sword of) the essence of the truth from its sheath.

(Line 4:) (The sound of) the conch-shell, winding to the right, being deep, destroyed (line 3:) the great fear, which, (like) a disease, plagued the three worlds with their great armies of nāgas under the earth, their gods[95] above the earth and their many creatures on the wide earth. (Line 4:) The entirely white *makara*[96] of the wide and extensive holy religion became a vicious killer. To that, I bow with all my being. 49.

(*Homage to the Saṅgha*:)

The excellent seed, produced by the Victor, having dwelt (its) full (length of time) in the soil of religion and having become visible (above the ground), put out the irreversible stalk of the Victor. Its quality (*yon-tan*) of (possessing) liberating knowledge, which had seen the ultimate truth, being placed (as the moon) in the middle of ten million stars, dropped into Emptiness the nectar of work which rejoices in doing good to others. (As a result,) the ascetic (*dpa'*), who was possessed of the holy coolness-in-the-shade which is (the mark of) (a) eternal joy, (b) doing good to others and (c) happiness, came near to (*ñer*) destroying entirely the works and vices—hot to the touch and very painful—of living beings as (extensive as) the limitless sky. (As a result,) his merit (gained by this act) became the supreme object of worship. O moon of the noble assembly of monks, complete with all (your) pure white 16 objects, crest-jewel of the three worlds, to you I bow. 50.

---

[94] Verse 49, line 1 *gdoṅ lṅa* = *pañcānana* = the five-faced (god) = Śiva.

[94a] Verse 49, line 1 *dpal gyi mgur*. See above, verse 39, line 2 and note 67.

[95] Verse 49, line 3 *legs bris* = a god. See Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 866, col. 1.

[96] Verse 49, line 4 *'dzin khri* Das, p. 421, col. 2, defines *chu srin 'dzin khri* as "a throne supported on carved crocodiles". Lokesh Chandra, Vol. II, p. 1995, col. 1, defines *'dzin khri* as an equivalent of *chu srin 'dzin khri*, which he translates as *grāha* ("a rapacious animal living in fresh or sea water, any large fish or marine animal (crocodile, shark, serpent, Gangetic alligator, water elephant or hippopotamus)", Monier-Williams, p. 372, col. 3). *Makara*, q.v. Monier-Williams, p. 771, col. 2, seems permissible to me.

(*Prayer to the Limitless god*:)[96a]

The lotus of marks and signs which was his handsome body (gained as a result) of his hundredth meritorious act, having bloomed, whosoever saw or touched that arising of excellent sweet fragrance, having become possessed of the truth (*don-ldan*), whatever wonderful thing he heard or thought-of, by the mere remembrance of that, the lakes and towns of this world (*Saṁsāra*), (which are filled) with limitless fear (because they are) the eternal play (-ground) of the water-demon of many sins, obtained completely the fearful power (to repel the demon).

O lord, (you) who have acquired immeasurable life and knowledge, not only are you merciful, but you are also a treasury of compassion, the exalted supreme god, who has entirely perfected the two duties for many aeons.

May you who are worshipped as the supreme teacher of that holy region which has the same purpose as that which is (known as) bDe-ba-can (*Sukhāvatī*)[97] —where feelings of joy and happiness are full—bestow your blessings of life on this aeon. 51.

(*Prayer to Avalokiteśvara*:)

Having become the principal form of the compassion of all the Victors, —[(which form is) as large as the circumference of the circle of the measureless sky]—the lord, visible in the wide world, (bearing in his hand) the sign of the lotus, that only lord of the world of the five kinds of living beings[98]—[who are (=whose numbers are), by far, completely beyond (=greater than) the number of the limitless and immeasurable particles (of sand) of the river Ganges]–with his wisdom—[which conquers (all) that is classified under the name of (mental and spiritual) darkness]—shining like a treasury of lights, (that only lord=) that Buddha, who has none higher on earth, appearing in visible form[99], opened the 100 gates of the 10,000 categories of deep and wide deeds performed by the Blessed One, the great Śākyamuni.

May (that Buddha,) the lord of the fields of the Potala, who has the special (Bodhi-)sattva nature, the Vajra-Sun who is constantly worshipped, bestow the blessing of life (on all)[100]. 52.

[96a] *mtha' yas pa* (the limitless god) = *khyab 'jug* (the all-encompassing god) = Vishṇu.

[97] Verse 51, line 4 *bde ba can* = *Sukhāvatī* = paradise.

[98] Verse 52, line 2 *rgyu lṅa'i sems can* (the 5 kinds of living beings) = (1) beings of hell, (2) ghosts, (3) animals, (4) human beings, (5) gods and demons.

[99] Verse 52, line 3 *mṅon par phyin kyaṅ* = appearing in visible form.

[100] In verse 52, for the sake of clarity of meaning, I have enclosed Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's parentheses in square brackets [ ].

(*Prayer to Kurukulle*:)

(She who is) widely known as the Blessed Kurukulle, who, at the end of having totally removed – by means of the very clean and sweet flow of water which contained the eight limbs (of the path) and was a treasure-house of the hundreds of beauties of whatever things, whether immobile or completely mobile, are obtained in this world—the 404 poor sufferings of all embodied beings, was joined to the power of the god of happiness[101];

(That) heart-ravishing mother, who gave birth to the Victor and who radiated more light than the glory of a heap of red-coloured corals and the brilliance of a thousand suns rolled into one;

(She,) having pierced the heart of desire[102] – which is (like) a bird drawn towards the lotus-lineage[103] of soft and tender good fortune – raised the warrior's lance on "the peak of existence"[104]. May she who is (thus) worshipped grant the fulfilment of all wishes. 53.

(*Praise of Padmasambhava*:)

He who was self-originated from the navel itself of the lotus, (and was) made handsome by the adornment of marks and signs, (being) innately united in the clear (union of) Means and Wisdom, (he,) the glorious Vajra-bearing god,

Whose magical mark (=characteristic) of illusory appearance[105], although it was famed as eight (-fold), had as many appearances of birth as the many spheres (of existence), especially the sphere of living beings;

Whose passionless and peaceful mind, although free from thought - constructions, united the undefiled happiness of the essence (=semen) of the great secret with the goddess-owner of the Dharma-sphere[106], the royal mother of life;

Whose treasure of accomplishments, passing from one world to another, was (his) life and wisdom, (which were like) a fully-acquired weapon – may he who was the incomparable Padma-vajra, the permanent refuge, be praised. 54.

---

[101] Verse 53, line 2 *bde skyid lha*, the god of happiness = *rnam thos* = Vaiśravaṇa.

[102] Verse 53, line 4 *yid srubs* = *Manmatha* = Love or desire or the god of love and/or desire (*Kāma*).

[103] Verse 53, line 4 *utpala rgyud*, the lotus lineage = the lineage of Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi).

[104] Verse 53, line 4 *srid rtse* = *Bhavāgra* = the highest meditational stage in the immaterial sphere (*ārūpya-dhātu*), where, through the "door" (*āyatana*) of neither perception nor non-perception (*naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñā*), one enters into the Vajra-like concentration (*vajropamasamādhi*).

[105] Verse 54, line 2 *sgyu ma* = *Māyā* = illusory appearance.

[106] Verse 54, line 3 *chos dbyiṅs gzuṅ ma* = *Dharma-dhātu-dhātrī* (?) = the goddess-owner of the Dharma-sphere (?).

(*Praise of the Royal Patrons of Buddhism:*)

King Tho-ri gñan-btsan, the great store of mercy and the embodiment of compassion, who, for the sake of the clear Teaching of the Victor, took the form of a king of (mortal) men in this land of snowy mountains, was the first-born of the holy religion.

In the fifth generation[107], for the (sake of the) arising of the knowledge of the truth, in accordance with prophecy, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po arose like the day. The white umbrella of well-being and happiness having been unfurled as the only light,

(And) the flower of the god Brahmā having bloomed, the swarms of bees, which (swarms) were the translators, paṇdits and many (other) knowledgeable persons, enjoyed, with great relish, the honey of the *Sūtras* and *Śāstras*. Because of the setting-forth of, the listening-to and the thinking-on (the Buddhist texts) translated (by them),

Those who made clear the precious teaching (of Buddhism), such as the sovereign lord Khri-lde gtsug-brtan and other Royal Patrons of Buddhism (*chos-kyi rgyal-po*)—related to (= descended from) the Victor—who arrived in succession, are worthy of praise. 55.

(*Praise of Btsoṅ-kha-pa:*)

That teaching, which, because there was no certainty, in this earth, of a successor to Mañjuśrī-vajra Btsoṅ-kha-pa—who had the supreme power of working for the sake of others, which (power) was beyond (=greater than) the special quality of the beautiful wonder of (a) the precious wish-fulfilling jewel, whose extensive effulgence fills all the directions with the beautiful things it gives as meritorious gifts and (b) the holy tree (of paradise) which is very precious in heaven (and whose) sweet smell subdues the rising of the (sensual) pleasures of the gods—was (preached by Btsoṅ-kha-pa as) an equal (= substitute) of himself, is an object to be praised by all the creatures of the three worlds. 56.

(*Praise to the teachers of the Dalai Lama:*)

The lord Pan-chen Blo-bzaṅ chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan[108], who was the equal of Upagupta, the opener of the door which held (=opened to) the three highest teachings of the *prātimoksha* laws, which are the basis of the Victor's teachings;

---

[107] Verse 55, line 2. The 5 generations between Lha tho-ri gñan-btsan and Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po were those of: Lha tho-ri gñan-btsan, Khri gñan gzuṅs-btsan, 'Bro-gnaṅ lde'u, Stag-ri gnaṅ gzigs, Gnam-ri sroṅ-btsan, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po.

[108] Verse 57, line 1 Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, the first Pan-chen Lama, 1569-1662.

The honourable teacher who belonged to the 'Khon family, (namely,) Dpal-'byor lhun-grub, who was possessed of excellent merit[109], rich with the store of good fortune extending to the bottom (of the ocean) of understanding and truth, (which ocean was the result) of the gathering-together of all the rivers of the teachings of all directions;

He who had the name—which had fully acquired magical efficacy[110]—of Rin-chen bsod-nams mchog, who was comparable to the white moon which was famous as Bu-ston chos-rje, who (Bu-ston chos-rje) had acquired all the secrets of an All-Knowing One;

May these, (on whose) two feet arose all the blessed marks of (having) the ornament of the spotless[111], beautiful wheel, be praised as the four crest-ornaments of the three worlds. 57.

The festival of the day (which is given) to all embodied creatures by the sun[112]; the coolness (=darkness) (caused) by the moon[113];

The healing of diseases and the blessing of cure (brought about) by means of the pleasant medicine (given) by the lotus; the satisfying of all desires by the wish-fulfilling tree;

(And) the doing of good to others by the great ones[114] are (all) (examples of) naturalness.[115] May the All-Encompassing Chos-dbyiṅs raṅ-grol and

He of exalted rank, who has gone to the supreme Vajra-stage, the descendant of the lotus (-line)[116], (namely,) Gter-bdag gliṅ-pa[117]—(both of whom have the naturalness of doing good to others)—be devoutly praised. 58.

---

[109] Verse 57, line 2 Dpal-'byor lhun-grub's dates are 1561-1637. If the words *bsod nams mchog ldan* ("possessed of excellent merit") are part of his name, the sentence would read: "the honourable bsod-nams mchog-ldan (known as) the teacher who belonged to the 'khon family, (viz.,) dpal-'byor lhun-grub, rich with the store . . ."

[110] Verse 57, line 3 *mthu las.* I translate as "magical efficacy".

[111] Verse 57, line 4 *mi phyis dri bral bcas min* = not (*min*) having (*bcas*) the spotless (-ness) (*dri bral*) which has not (*mi*) been wiped (completely clean) (*phyis*). Hence, "(completely) spotless".

[112] Verse 58, line 1 *'od stoṅ ldan* = *Sahasra-kiraṇa* = the sun.

[113] Verse 58, line 1 *ri boṅ can* = *Śaśāṅka* or *Śaśadhara* = the moon.

[114] Verse 58, line 3 *sñiṅ stobs che* = one whose strength of mind is great = *Mahāsattva*, "one whose being is great", "great one".

[115] Verse 58, line 3 *lhan skyes* = *sahaja*, spontaneous, natural. *lhan skyes ñid* = *sāhajikatā*, spontaneity, naturalness.

May these (persons), who are the circle of that-which-causes-the-day (=the sun), with its emission of light which lights up the world; And, furthermore, the spiritual guides who brought down the nectar of the profound doctrine of the *sūtras* and *tantras*, (both) old and new;

(And) the Vajra-bearing "mountains"[118], who, having removed the coolnesses (=darknesses) by means of the light of their strength of mind,—which (light) (also) conquered the enemy which is the darkness of the rising and setting (=waxing and waning?) dependence [118a]—are not (hot) suns[119], be praised. 59.

May Dkon-mchog chos-'phel 'jam-dbyaṅs dṅos, whose throat (=voice), saturated, like Diṅnāga's, with the giving of simple instruction in the nature of all subjects of learning and (especially) logic, was raised high;

And the Great Paṇḍita of Smon-'gro, who (a) had (intellectual) discrimination, (b) was a spiritual guide who (conferred) great joy (on others) and, (c) in explaining such elegant teachings (*legs-bśad*) as chanting (*sgra-sñan*), aphorisms (*mdor-brjod*) and metre (*sdeb-sbyor*), was, like Hiraṇya-garbha[120], a store-house of the Vedas;

And Don-grub dbaṅ-rgyal of Ldum-po, who adhered to the traditions preached by the Phug-pa father and son[121], who (the Phug-pas) rang the melodious bell (of their teaching) over the difficult essence of the *Kālacakra* (doctrine) as understood by non-Buddhists;

And other wise and powerful persons, who, like the sun, the lord of light, did some good to (both) high and low beings, be praised with fistfuls of flower-offerings. 60.

---

[116] Verse 58, line 4 *padma'i gduṅ 'tshob* = the descendant of the lotus-line = Padmapāṇi. For *gduṅ 'tshob*, see Chos-kyi grags-pa, p. 416, col. 1.

[117] Verse 58, line 4 For Gter-bdag gliṅ-pa (1634/46-1714), see Eva M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (Delhi, 1977), pp. 174-186.

[118] Verse 59, line 4 *ri bo'i tshogs*, "mountains" = eminent teachers. Since, in verse 59, line 3, it is said that the light of their strength of mind (*sñiṅ stobs*) "conquered the enemy" (*dgra bcom*), they are, obviously, regarded as *dgra bcom pa* or *Arhats*.

[118a] Verse 59, line 3 *gžan dbaṅ*. See footnote 39a, above.

[119] V. 59, l. 4 *tsha zer can*=*ushṇa-kiraṇa* or *ushṇa-raśmi* (that which has hot rays)=the sun.

[120] Verse 60, line 2 *gser mṅal can* = *Hiraṇya-garbha*, the Golden Womb, on whom see, *Ṛigveda-saṁhitā*, X, 121.

[121] Verse 60, line 3 *phug pa*. Mar-pa phug-po (1156-1228) is mentioned in the *Blue Annals* (translated by G. Roerich), Vol. I, p. 319.

(*Invocation to Mañjughosha, the god of speech:*)[122]

(Line 3:) May he who, in his youthful form,—(which is) intoxicated with pride (caused by) the youthfulness which is a receptacle completely filled by those marks (*Ri-Mo*) [—a wonderful story (line 2:) not to be talked about—] (which are) made by the 112 ornaments [—which are the very nature of holiness—] in the form of a circle of marks (*mtshan*) and signs (*dpe*), (line 1:) (such as) a golden mountain, an ocean of saffron and a true reflection of the sun when it (the sun) has the colour of arising–(line 4:) is known, in (this) world, as Mañjughosha, open the door of the light of the knowledge which was Atīśa's.61[123].

(*Invocation to Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech:*)

(Line 3:) The mind of calmness[124], which—(line 2:) having seen the wonderful beauty of the body (line 1:) of Sarasvatī, who (Sarasvatī) is skilled in bestowing the supreme path of the knowledge of all religious beliefs, which (knowledge) fulfils the prayers made during the arising of thought[125]—(line 3:) sends forth (line 2:) the utterance (*gsuṅ*) of the sound (*nāda*) in which are gathered together the notes (*sgra*) of 60 lutes[126], (lines 3-4:) is the full autumn moon, which crosses (=exceeds) the sound (*dbyaṅs*) of Brahmā and the ocean. May that goddess who arises on the teeth[127] entirely fulfil[128] the desire for speech (*ṅag*). 62.

(*Invocation of the tutelary deities:*)[129]

As is (done) for the King of the gods (Indra) by Airāvata[130]; as is (done) by the clouds—by means of a garland of heavy clouds—to the sky;

As is (done) by the sky to the fully-grown harvest; as is (done) by him (Indra?) to all embodied beings;

---

[122] *smra ba'i lha*, the God of speech = Mañjughosha.

[123] In this verse, as in verse 52, I have enclosed Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's parentheses in square brackets.

[124] Verse 62, line 3 *ñer ži* = *upaśama* = calmness.

[125] Verse 62, line 1 *thugs bskyed* = *cittotpāda* = the arising of thought.

[126] Verse 62, line 2 *maṅ ma* must be a musical instrument of some sort, possibly the same as *rgyud maṅ*, lute.

[127] Verse 62, line 4 *so mche byuṅ lha mo*, the goddess who arises on the teeth, seems to be an epithet for Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech.

[128] Verse 62, line 4 *'dod 'jo ba*, which I have translated as "to fulfil the desire", means, literally, "to milk the desire". *'dod 'jo ba* also means the wish-fulfilling cow, *kāmadhenu*.

[129] *yi dam* = ishṭa-devatā = tutelary deity.

[130] Verse 63, line 1 *gdeṅs can* = Airāvata, Indra's elephant.

Funding by IKS-MoE

(So is) the desire[131] for the precious fulfilment fulfilled[132]. (In like manner) may the lord who is the enemy of time[133]—who has subdued, with his brilliance, the female partner[134] who is beyond Saṁsāra – and the fears (= fearful deities?) (connected with him) also make 'Jigs-byed and the other tutelary deities victorious in the continuing[135] battle (of Saṁsāra). 63.

(*Invocation to the protectors of Buddhism*:)[136]

The dances[137] of (=danced by) the visible manifestations[138] (of Dmag-zor lha-mo) such as "(she who wears) collyrium (on her eyes)", "(she who is) seated on a heap of corals" and "(she who) causes terrible fear"[139]; and

The Fire-of-Hell (*rta-gdoṅ*) having completely surrounded the mountain[140] with epochal fire[141] and the fire which emits black smoke, which is blown about in all directions by delusion-producing *mantras*;

For the sake of creatures who adhere to the teaching (of the Buddha) and to these (protectors of Buddhism), may Dmag-zor lha(-mo) – who holds the magical power of crossing land which is difficult to cross and who can separate the acceptable from the rejectable –

---

[131] Verse 63, line 3 *'dod pa'i dpyid* The *dpyid* here means, I think, *madana*, "desire", so that the expression *'dod pa'i dpyid* is mere tautology.

[132] The meaning of verse 63 is: As the desires of Indra are fulfilled by Airāvata; as the sky's "desire for fulfilment" is fulfilled by the clouds; as the harvest's "desire for fulfilment" is fulfilled by the sky, which sends down rain; as the desires of all embodied beings are fulfilled by him (Indra?), so may the "desire for fulfilment" of the tutelary deities be fulfilled by "the lord who is the enemy of time".

[133] Verse 63, line 3 *dus dgra'i dbaṅ po* = the lord who is the enemy of time = death.

[134] Verse 63, line 3 *phyag rgya* = *mudrā* = female partner, on whom see A. Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras* (London, 1973), ch. 14.

[135] Verse 63, line 4 *bar chad* = *an-antara* = without anything in-between, hence, uninterrupted or continuous.

[136] *chos skyoṅ* = *Dharma-pāla* = protector of Buddhism.

[137] Verse 64, line 1 *gar dgu* The "dances" referred to here are the *tāṇḍava* dances which signal the end of an epoch.

[138] Verse 64, line 1 *rnam 'gyur gsal ba*, I translate as "visible manifestations".

[139] Verse 64, line 1 *mig sman*, "(she who wears) collyrium (on her eyes)"; *byu ru'i lhun por dgod*, "(she who is) seated on a heap of corals"; and *drags śul 'jigs ruṅ*, "(she who) causes terrible fear" are epithets of *dmag zor lha mo* (Pārvatī, according to Lokesh Chandra, Vol. II, p. 1861, col. 2).

[140] Verse 64, line 2 *ri . . . rab bskor te*, "the mountain . . . (which is) completely surrounded" (by fire) is, most probably, Mount Sumeru (*ri rab*), which stands at the centre of the (flat) earth.

[141] Verse 64, line 2 *bskal pa'i žugs* = the fire which occurs at the end of an aeon or epoch.

And other potent protectors and guardians (of Buddhism), such as Beg-tse, Lcam-sriṅ and the white 'Od-ldan, who are (all) from Zaṅs, do the work of accomplishing this means (of protecting Buddhism). 64.

* * *

O you who bear the lotus in your hand, your Vajra-body carries the deception of (wearing) a spotless (monastic) robe of love to (all) creatures. How can my intelligence, which is (like that of) a child, receive the song which records the deeds[142] of an All-Encompassing Lama (like yourself)? 65

But the vast ocean of the deeds of (your) inner and hidden lives is, indeed, not within the sphere of everyone's deeds. (To absorb even) the small part which is the deeds of (your) ordinary, outer life is like quenching one's thirst by drinking (only) one gulp (of water). 66.

This (book) has been composed as a continuation of the three volumes of "The Fine Silk", equal (to that book) in the meaning of words, (but) showing clearly, without the obscuration of harmonious words, the many forms of (my) youthfulness (=immaturity), (both) good and bad. 67.

If one utters such impious lies as that the non-existent exists or that the existent does not exist, then the holy (sense of) shame[143], which is (like) a quiver[144] of the straight arrows of Arjuna[145], which speak of (=reveal) the true (evil) nature of praising as holy that which is unholy, is here. 68.

---

[142] Verse 65, line 3 *rtogs pa brjod pa, avadāna,* I translate, simply, as "a record of deeds".

[143] Verse 68, line 2 *khrel = apatrāpya,* q.v. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary,* p. 43, col. 2.

[144] Verse 68, line 4 *mched, āyatana,* I translate in the present context as "a quiver" (of arrows).

[145] Verse 68, line 4 *srid sgrub* = Arjuna.

GHEORGHE ANCA, ROMANIA

SANSKRIT AND ROMANIAN POETICS

Three anniversaries below remembered en passant can be taken as a point of departure for reflection on some topical problems and cross-cultural comparisons in the field of Sanskrit-Romanian poetics. The main subject matter in this regard is to try an image on position of Mihai Eminescu (1850-1859)—like Kālidāsa or Tagore—in accordance with the latest research from our viewpoint.

Among the UNESCO anniversaries this year, the Moldavian boyard, the poet Costache Conachi, born in September 1778, at Tiganesti, offers an opportunity here in India to evoke the presence of the Orient in Romanian poetry and poetics. How about himself, he is—after George Calinescu—the true Romanian erotic poet, in the superior sense of the word, with the exception of Eminescu who is such a great poet that, even while professing distance from woman, perpetually aspires after her.

In 1979, it will be 400 years since the birth of another learned boyard, of Muntenia, Udrişte Nasturel, the brother-in-law of the prince of Romanian country, Matei Basarab. He was the first translator into Romanian (1620) of popular novels from Europe of that time. *Varlaam and Yoasaf*, for instance, inspired by the life of the Buddha, was a theme often replayed in literature and arts, such as the wall paintings of Moldavian monasteries. Mihai Eminescu also had a copy of Nasturel's translation, this being one source of his poetic Buddhism.

Finally, I recall a Romanian journey in India, namely of Constantin Brancusi, born in 1876, son of an Oltenian village family. He was later designated as the father of modern universal sculpture, as a saint of Montparnasse. In 1933 Maharaja Holkar invited him to Indore for the building of a temple. Brancusi visited Indore in the winter of 1937, after the realization, in Romania, at Tirgu-Jiu, of his *Endless Column, Gate of the Kiss* and *Table of Silence*. In India, he sculpted two marble birds from well-known cycle Maiatra. Otherwise, his Sculpture for the Blind, 1916, is the Brahmā's Golden Egg, and *King of Kings* had also the title "Spirit of the Buddha". In 1926 great poet Lucian Blaga published the poem *The Sacred Bird* dedicated to Brancusi:

In the wind by no one stirred

Orion bestows his hieratic blessing,
Shaping in tears
Thine lofty sacred geometry.
Thou that hast plunged to the bottom of oceans
And swept in thine flight past the Sun's fiery ball,
Thou that hast launched your wild cries
Through forests floating upon the ever first waters.
Art thou a bird? Or a bell ringing through space?
A living being or a hallowed chalice,
A golden song, wheeling
Over death and its fearsome secrets,
Now biding in dark caves, as fairy-tales tell,
Then through the reed-pipes of wind
Thou singest thine song
To those who sip their sleep
From dark poppies under the earth,
Phosphorus peeled off ancestral bones,
Harking to never-uttered revelations,
Upon the lawns of heaven thou roamest.
From the zenith of thine vaulted soarings,
Thine eye pierces in the deep roots of all mysteries.
Rise in your boundless flight,
But never betray what thine eye has beheld.

Also a character of Mircea Eliade's play entitled *Endless Column,* Constantin Brancusi thinks continuously in the Indian universe exemplified to him by Indore's projected temple of meditation. This monument combines in synthesis and devotion that trend toward the concrete which is the specific dimension of the Indian mind, yoga, as well as the essential religion of the ancient Geto-Dacians and the most important mythologic traditions and folklore creations. Brancusi's musing, "I was meditating at India, on *ātman*, on the Buddha, but I was thinking also of something else", brings to mind the beginning of one of Eminescu's poem: "I don't believe in Jehova/ nor in Buddha Śākyamuni" and Buddha's own words: "Do not believe me just because it is I who speak. But when you have seen, examined, and experienced for yourself, then accept it". From the poetics of the Romanian Constantin Brancusi we have the teaching: "Create like a God, command like a king, work like a slave."

The Romanian, it is said, is a born poet. The Romanian poet, we can

Funding by IKS-MoE

add, knows Sanskrit. Asked how he knows this language, Eminescu answered to Mite Kremnitz once that he has always spoken it.

Vlad Bānăteanu held the opinion that George Cosbuc's translations from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Kālidāsa were not only due to the classical German translations of Ruckert but were greatly helped by his direct knowledge, like one who had studied with assiduity the grammars of Max Müller and Darmestetter. George Baronzi has written a poem with a post-Ṛgvedic title, *Hiraṇyagarbha*.

Much before Cosbuc, but also in Transylvania, Ion Budai Deleanu, one of the greatest Romanian creators (George Ivascu), reveals in his *Gypsy Epic* (1800) a poetic style very similar to the Sanskrit, both in language and spirit. In the same way, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, the first professor of comparative Indo-European philology at the University of Bucharest, created more than a century ago the first modern Romanian drama, *Răzvan and Vidra*, with a Gypsy Romanian prince as hero. And in our time, Vasile Voiculescu wrote Shakuntalā about a Romanian avatāra of Kālidāsa's heroine, here the gypsy Rada. In the same tradition, Mircea Eliade a wonderful story, *Of Gypsy Women*, which in reality deals with a Gypsy, a Greek and a Jew (the Parcae), inspired by the Sanskrit story of Nārada sent by Lord Viṣṇu to fetch water.

About Eminescu's knowledge of Sanskrit, Amita Bose has given in one of her studies published in 1977 the following proofs: an impeccable calligraphy of Devanāgarī script, a very good orthography of Sanskrit, the principles of formation of words, the rules of declination and conjugation, approximately 2500 Sanskrit words and the philosophical significance of the term *karma*. In this regard too, poems like *Tat tvam asi*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Kāmadeva* etc are often commended.

Together with the *First Epistle* (all his five *Epistles* can be related to the *Vedas*) and many romantic stories and visions, some of Eminescu's best so-called Dacian poems are his "Indian" poems, at the same time. So, the poem *A Dacian's Prayer* was previously intitled *Nirvāṇa*—the prayer is towards Dacian god Zalmoxis, and the main source is the *Ṛgveda*:

> When Death was not, and nothing immortal had been wrought,
> Nor light's divinest kernel the world its life had brought,
> When yesterday, to-morrow, to-day had yet no name,
> When one was all, wherever, and all was one, the same;
> When earth, and air, and heavens, the whole world that is seen
> Were in the deep abyss like things that have not been—
> Thou wast alone, and anxious myself I'm asking now:

Funding by IKS-MoE

Who is the God, to whom we, with hearts most humble, bow?
Sole God he was, when others were not, and in the dark
Unfathomable ocean gave force to light's first spark,
He is mankind's great saviour and source of happiness,
The gods give soul and power and everything doth bless;
Cheer up your hearts! Adore him and praise in sacred hymn,
For life and resurrection from death all come through him!

Others genesis and meditations in Eminescu's poems:

First of all, in the beginning, in the utter nothingness,
With no being, no existence, lifeless, will-less, purposeless,
When there was no thought, no secret, and yet nothing was disclosed,
When, himself alone conceiving, sole the Unconceived reposed,
Was there nothing but a chasm filled with waters? An Abyss?
There was yet no world imagined, and no mind to think of this,
For there was an utter darkness, not the slightest ray of light,
Nothing to be seen whatever, not an eye to pierce with sight;
Shadows of things uncreated had not yet begun to creep,
Quiet, with itself contented, reigned calm peace, eternal sleep!
But at once a point, one only . . . it moved onward, fast and faster,
Chaos was its Mother; Father it became and world's great master.
Weaker than from froth the bubble, this point, from which all things soared,
Moving on the world's great vastness, it became the boundless lord.
(*First Epistle*)

And from the Chaos' vales he sees
How in an immense ring
Round him, as in the World's first day,
Lights from their sources spring;

Now, springing, they hem him like an
Ocean that swimming nears . . .
He flees carried by his desire
Until he disappears.
For that region is boundless and
Searching regards avoids
And time strives vainly there to come
To life from the dark voids.
(*Evening-Star*, translation by Dimitrie Cuclin)

Funding by IKS-MoE

No, you do not live, another loves, inspires you,—he but lives,
He with your own mouth is laughing, *he* to all the impulse gives,
All your lives are like the waters, waves in never ending surge
In a stream that is eternal, this stream is the Demiurge.
Don't you feel that you see wonders in these dull desires? O fools!
That your love is but another's, that all these are but the tools
To fulfil another's purpose, serving only nature's need?
That this all is but the cradle of new life, of hate the seed?
Don't to see your joy and laughter in your sons cause only pain?
That in all our veins is running still the guilty blood of Cain?
(*Fourth Epistle*, translation by P. Grimm)

Govern thy cold countenance,
At all motive, call or cheer;
What's but a wave must advance,
Don't hope anything nor fear.
Thou shouldst question, deeply weigh
What is bad and what's becoming;
All is of old or new clay:
Time is passing, time is coming. (*Glossa*)

Zalmoxis is Eminescu's God, his inner Ātman, the god of his parents, of the ancestors of the Romanian people, who before the Christian era were called Daci (Dacians) by the Romans and Getae by the Greeks, "bravest and most law-abiding of all Thracians" according to Herodotus—familiar to Eminescu, as Plato too, who eulogized Zalmoxis. What the Romanian poet had borrowed from Schopenhauerian Buddhism didn't change the relationship of the poet with the divine spirit embodied (late, at Lucian Blaga, as a prophet) by Zalmoxis. Schopenhauer himself quoted often from that "pilgrim scholar" who began from Romania, Alexander Csoma de Körös (in Romanian Crișan, as Kṛishṇa in Indian), who believed that the name Dacia/Dakia derives from the Sanskrit word "dakh"/"dak" signifying "the grape", and "Geta" from the name of (Buddha Tathā)Gata "walking on the same way".

Between Ātman and Nirvāṇa, between Brahmā and Buddha, the first, also as Zalmoxis, seems to answer his religious, mantric aspirations. If Vedantism is poetical correspondence, Buddhism is a much more philosophical reception. The philosopher is indebted to the source while the poet reaches it by his own vision, and so the Indian significances are to be rediscovered in a Romanian universe.

Funding by IKS-MoE

But because the contemporaries of Eminescu, like Titu Maiorescu and Ion Luca Caragiale, described him as a fervent Buddhist, we can say now that the Romanian poet is as much a Tantric Buddhist as the Tibetan Milarepa on the Path of Liberation (Brancusi too, in Paris, had as favourite poet Milarepa). In all, beyond the strict limitation of the terms, Eminescu's India with Brancusi's temple and Moldavian frescoes emphasise the Romanian (Zalmoxis) Yoasaf comparable respectively with Indian, Chinese, Japanese images of the Buddha, consecrates a mysterious, affinitive presence of some fluxes and refluxes insatiable like that, intermediated by creation as correspondence, stimulated by poetical reception.

Indian culture is received in Romania in a poetical way, first through its great Epics which are seen as much more modern than works written in the last centuries (Mircea Malita). If Henry Brémond in his famous *La poèsie pure* (1926) includes Tagore among the representatives of this universal post-baudelairian mind, according Zoe Dumitrecu-Bușulenga, the author of *Gitanjali* thought as the ancient India, in this universe where all comunics and, as the spirit rendered figurative by the titans of European Renaissance, for Tagore too divinity is the primordial cause as an artist who perfects without interruption one sublime work.

Lucian Blaga on "mioritic" (from Romanian national ballad *Ewe Lamb* "Miorita"), Zalmoxis and Eminescu's way approaches Indian spirituality more directly than through his theorization of its negative axiologic stress, just as Eminescu himself was much nearer the original Ṛgvedic hymn than the German intermediary. Vasile Pârvan, the creator of a fundamental book on Dacians—*Getica*, published 50 years ago—who considered the Roman Idea as the Idea-Mother of Romanian culture once asserted a Buddhist-Socratic interpretation of the subconscious, divinely inspired creation. In his view, the great creators in the world were Buddha, Jesus, Alexander, Niccolo d'Appulia.

The poetics of George Călinescu, Parvan's disciple, are marked by both Dante's and Balzac's Comedies, Divine and Human. The first acceptance is possible to consider through Baudelaire's correspondences and Eminescu's Dacian-Vedic-Buddhist poems: Indian Comedy. Essential is the myth of egg modernly transfigured in this Ion Barbu's poem, many times analogised with Brancusi's Brahmanic sculpture:

The new and candid egg, in bloom,
—A wedding palace and a tomb—
In lime-like water is aswim
Like old worlds in their crystal rim.

Funding by IKS-MoE

The white of egg is plunged in snowy sleep,
(Its bedding is a threefold silken heap)
It is as languid, close to the extreme,
As sweetheart's body sinking in a dream.
What does the offspring do?
From skyey heights of blue
--Whose pole is marked as *plus*—
Where earthly mud and pus
Are not, as yet, in view,
Without the slightest din,
It gives—most masculine —
The white of egg in hyaline
A kiss which is all inn.

From the same George Calinescu's *A Course in Poetry*, published in 1939: "The old Asian systems of thought, then gnosticism, of late some thinkers following the hermetic tradition, occultists in general as well as we all, when we relinquish the vain pride of our intelligence, look at the universe in another way. Especially the ancient peoples did not divide the universe into the order of the receptive subject and that of the perceived object, a fact which is in a sense closer to man's real condition. They looked at everything downwards, from the sky to the earth, thinking that man was the aim and the measure of universe and that the explanation of the universe could only be found in a universal spirit. Therefore they did not divide the world into subject and object but (since everything is spirit) into the greater and the smaller spirit, the macrocosm and the microcosm. It is self-understood that only a spirit can father spirits and only a principle of light can create beings seeking sense in the world. The universe is a system of flashes of the universal spirit in accordance with a scale of spiritual values. The laws that dominate *our* spirit are those of the universe too, all that is in the microcosm is repeated in the macrocosm as well. In other words, the universe is a bigger man within whose sides a smaller man lives. And since all the acts of man can be explained only in the light of some ultimate object, the universe of the Ancients has a final, not a causal explanation. With the occultists, one can find some strange anatomical charts which do not study the relation between each organ of man and an organ of the universe, namely a star. It is way of thinking pure arbitrariness, fantasy? No". (*Studies in Poetics*, translated from Romanian by Andrei Bantas and Anda Teodorescu, Universe Publishing House, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 52-53).

Mircea Eliade, who has sensibilized in a catalytic manner the Indian

Funding by IKS-MoE

audience in Romania, starting from Hasdeu's model, including Indian studies, and later transforming his first passion in a career as historian of religions and apologist of Brancusi as Platon of Socrate, has given voice to Eminescu's vision of India. His poetics is scientific in the Buddhist sense, or mythological, *mythosopher,* in Lucian Blaga's words, remaining contemporary with the medieval predicators of Yoasaf, Alexander or Sindipa, a pilgrim as Nicolae Milescu or Csoma Kőrösi, and a thinker artist as Albert Camus. Like Eminescu, he has in his Romanian literary work, his own Indian anthology as the masterpiece of which is the Romanian-Bengali novel Maitreya.

Dharamsala, May 1978

ANGKASAPUTRA, AMLAPURA, BALI (INDONESIA)

THE PROPHECY OF JAYABHAYA

1. In the future when the island of Java will have been encircled with iron, and rafts (boats) will move without being drawn by horses, the canoe will fly in the sky, many dams of rivers are destroyed, the market is without reverberation: all this will mean that the epoch of Jayabhaya is approaching.

2. The island of Java is divided into pieces and even a very small piece of land is taxed.

3. The world is becoming narrower and narrower (because of good transportation?) and the population is growing into as great numbers as winnowed husk of rice.

4. A very small child understands about money and the newly-born baby's eyes are agape.

5. There is sound without form and form without sound (is it radio or the like?)

6. Agreements are breached, people are maltreated, tyranny prevails, everywhere there are conflicts, injuries, faithlessness, discord, damage and so on.

7. Women are shameless, and men lose their bravery and courage of manliness.

8. Women ride horses and men sit in palanquins.

9. Chicken hatch their eggs on the carrying pole.

10. Good men are tied tight and bad people are singing.

11. True people get confused and the untruthful people feel happy.

12. Responsible people are oppressed, and the irresponsible disapprove the honest.

13. The dishonest and deceitful become very cruel and wise and the honest are wrecked.

14. People exchange their wives with each other as they like.

15. Wives have fickle minds and are not loyal to their husbands.

16. The betik fish eats coconut flowers.

17. The angkerang red ants invade the volcano (of Merapi?)

18. Many people wear thick glasses, even so they cannot see clearly. They only like to look for seats.

Funding by IKS-MoE

19. Tin considers itself as copper and gold, and (pure) gold is considered copper. People are no longer loyal to their king.

20. The water looks for the bucket, the teacher looks for children, and women look for husbands.

21. Women are easy to get but men are very deficient (there are more women than men).

22. People consider themselves as the most meritorious as compared to others, the most honorable and the most useful.

23. Crazy people are ambitious to get good positions and they seek wealth even by staking life.

24. The near ones are kicked and the distant are embraced.

25. The thieves sit back, very satiated and satisfied.

26. The places that used to be horrible and hair-raising, are now no longer so. The people do not regard them as horrible and hair-raising.

27. The good are chased way, and the bad are honoured.

28. Many people like to live in luxury and they no longer have feelings of honour or shame, and would even be beggars and do not like to work hard.

29. Many people are of evil mind and are contemptible.

30. Minds of most people are very tendentious. Most of the people always envy each other, like to engender hostility, and to protect the wicked.

31. The coldhearted get much fortune, while those of great compassion and humanity are devoid of it.

32. The fortunes of the un-cautious and of the forgetable are not as felicitous as those of the alert and cautious people.

33. Women compete in getting husbands and babies are born of unknown fathers.

34. Thieves challenge owners and beggars snarl and snap at givers.

35. The price of a lady is five coins, widow has a price of one coin, and a cripple widower is sold out for 75 cents.

36. Diligent people suffer and the lazy slip down.

37. In due course, half of the people of Java will exist, the Dutch will become friends, and the Chinese will shake their heads.

38. The rash go ahead and the intelligent are cheated.

39. The daring are very fortunate, and the meek are oppressed.

40. Teacher is competed against, the boss is opposed.

41. Scholars sell their knowledge to one another.

Funding by IKS-MoE

42. People impair their decency, religion is no longer respected and practiced, even not spoken of, moral codes are evaded.

43. House-lizard swallows the sawo fruit.

44. The Javanese and the Chinese ride a horse while the Dutch are disregarded.

45. Two become a pair, three are totality.

46. Things are cured from outside, while from within they proliferate.

47. Good is neglected and the evil of the wicked goes unnoticed.

48. Rice becomes gold.

49. Property gives rise to lawsuits and hostility, and position becomes a lure.

50. People get intoxicated with their prayers, they contest each other for superiority, particularly in villages. They are overcome by greed. They oppose religious teachings. People are overwhelmed by avarice and sinful actions. They act against religious teachings and laws, they violate humanitarianism, decencies are abandoned, and they cast aside reason.

51. In such an age, sinful are considered to be right, hypocrites get good positions and happy life, the evil get more and more happiness and enjoyments, and the unpretentious are disapproved of.

52. Many goods are hidden in holes; many people suffer from starvation, and are without clothes.

53. Buyers persuade sellers and sellers are evading on excuses.

54. People get their living in noisy quarreling. The go-getters pass through; the slow are left behind. The big are lost, and the small slip down. The responsible are kicked out and the reckless attain fortune. The prudent are pressed down and the rash are prosperous. The mindful suffer and the madcaps are happy. The farmers are tied, the liars are singing.

55. The more the goods of sellers are in demand, the more they lose their wealth, while many die from starvation living near food godowns. The more wealth people have the more is their life full of sufferings.

56. Rebels in the country abound because more and more people compete for positions, liars exist everywhere, diseases ravish all around.

57. There will be kings with low confidence, faith and whose prime ministers will be gamblers, so that the pure-minded are hated, those who know how to please and to flatter get good positions. Blackmail prevails. People exploit each other. The thieves sit with their stomachs satiated.

58. And then there is the ambitious king who has vast armies. His kingdom is one-eighth. Corruption stalls the land. Corruptors abound. Evil is

Funding by IKS-MoE

accepted and good is disowned. Tin is regarded as silver, gold as copper. Sinful are prosperous and the innocent are maltreated. The thief is overlooked. The people who lose their properties and other ownership are reviled.

59. People are stingy, and the kind are sad and do not get their due. The people who get shares are not so kind and do not love others. There are many foolish people. Many people are nonchalant. Many families are broken.

60. Finally, in due course, time will revert back. The wheel ever revolves.

61. The borrowers will pay back debts to the lenders.

62. Those who owe life will pay back with life, and those who owe money will repay with money.

63. Evil will disappear, betrayal will be devoured by the curse. Rascals and nagging people will be frightened. Sinners will be punished by the Almighty.

64. Many people die of bites by mosquitoes and ants. Mysterious voices haunt sinners. Many people are crazy, many are hit by accidents.

65. Unemployed will be dragged out. Buyers of stolen goods will be unhappy and feel worried and unfortunate. The steady-minded and the faithful will have luck.

66. The prosperous age will come. The lowly will be educated, and the big isolated. The rich will give, and the poor will get positions. The people will live in peace.

THE PREDICTIONS OF SABDOPALON

One day in the I Śaka Year 1400 (in A. D. 1478), the sun was clouded since morning, so that the whole day long it appeared overcast. It was not realized that the sun had nearly set in the west, and the evening was approaching. At that time the situation seemed to be mourning the overthrow of the kingdom of Majapahit. All of a sudden, at a certain mountain near Malang, in East Java, appeared three men who looked very tired, eyes smarting, with vain hope, knowing not what to do and to which place they had to go. They sat down on a stone for a short rest. "Oh Nayogenggong and Sabdopalon, what a fate is befalling me now?" This was the complaint of one of them who was none other than king Kertabumi or king Brawijaya V, the last king of the Majapahit dynasty, escaping from his kingdom which was occupied and seized by his enemy more powerful than him. The other two, Nayogenggong and

Funding by IKS-MoE

Sabdopalon by name, were his faithful ministers. They always faithfully accompanied the king, their master, wherever and whenever he went even in flight. "Oh master, oh our Majesty, all seems to be God's will, the will of the Almighty. Nobody can avoid it. Conquering and being conquered, victory and defeat of a king, as the luck or misfortune of a person, are all subject to God's will and in accord with his fate. Man proposes but God disposes. Success or otherwise depends on God's will, the will of the Almighty. Likewise it was when we were attacked by enemies. Our armies had given as strong as possible a resistance against the attacks of the enemy, but because of the far greater strength of the enemy, inevitably we had to own defeat. These events will become a part of the history of the Majapahit kingdom. In the past it had suffered and in the future too it will regain its glory. Thy misfortune, as it is now, is no more than what other kings have undergone in losing their kingdoms overpowered by stronger enemies. This has been a reasonable possibility for a king, from ancient times till now, as well as in the future. Is it not wiser if You, oh our Majesty, do not grieve over it? What is the use of crying over spilt milk? Is it not better if, little by little, we coordinate and gather our strength? And finally we will regain our kingdom, Majalangka, from enemy's hands?" Thus were Nayogenggong's words to console the sad king, his master.

"But, oh, Nayogenggong and Sabdopalon, the grief is really overwhelming and it saddens my mind. I feel that it is as if just now my people paid obeisances to me. But on the other hand, this very moment I have nobody but both of you. Only you both are faithful to me."

"Oh Gusti Prabu, our respectful king, our Majesty, such a fate is God's will, the will of the Almighty who rules our world. By Him the pairs of opposite natures are created: like sadness and happiness, night and day, male and female and so on which are seemingly opposed to each other. But in fact, these pairs of opposites create harmony in this world. They always come together. These pairs have their own nature. From the opposite pairs of nature, the transience of this world comes forth. Youth which is full of pleasures and other enjoyments in due course turns into old age with all its consequences and responsibilities, and after this death is inevitable. Everyone will have his own pleasures, enjoyments and happiness. But at the same time he also undergoes what is called sadness, unhappiness and so on. Whosoever there is in this world will surely undergo these two aspects of nature. Like the history of people, who once used to have a glorious and victorious period of existence, are inevitably destined to have a time that is full of darkness. The wise have said that this world is nothing else but an illusion, is it not true. Your fate, as it is now, becomes the manifestation of this philosophy actually. Realizing this, people should not slander, humiliate, be arrogant, boast, and insult the poor. It should always be remembered that not only the very humble can be overtaken by misfortune but it can befall even the greatest king. A nation, particularly a powerful one, should not have its way against other nations even when it realises that its powers exceed those of others. It should not act against the rule of God and humanity realizing that the fate of human beings is like the rotation of a wheel, which in turn, is above, below and on the sides. Therefore let us all try to learn so that we do not so easily lose courage and hope when we are undergoing sufferings and misfortunes, while on the other hand we are not boastful and arrogant while living in happiness and joy. Not to flatter the strong too much and also not to humiliate or insult the weak and the humble. We should be able to harmonize between bad and good. We should be able to restrain ourselves. We should be composed in suffering or in good fortune. Our mind should be stable and harmonious. Firmness and patience are the good characteristics of a human being.

You, our Majesty, our great King, are a very kind, wise and generous king. Of course, you will not stay inactive. We are sure that you will do your best to recover might to wrest back the kingdom from the enemy's hand. Our present defeat does not mean that our enemy has won the battle. We should not lose courage. So long as we put in our best efforts, who knows that the situation may turn again, and we are able to vanquish our enemy and take back the kingdom. But if you lose courage, we have to acknowledge defeat materially or mentally!" Thus were Nayogenggong's words to console his master. "But, oh dear grandfather, I am very old already. And there is not even the least possibility to collect and to rally around great warriors. All our heros have disappeared". Such were king Kertabumi's replies uttered in despair. "Aha! if it is so, oh my Majesty, my dear King, certainly the rule of the descendants of king Raden Wijaya over Majapahit kingdom has ended now! At the same time, it is time for me to go back to my abode in the spiritual world of gods this very moment to become a king again in heaven!" All of a sudden, his body merged into the air and he disappeared. King Kertabumi and Nayogenggong his other minister, were struck by amazement. They became more so when they again heard the voice of Sabdapalon from the sky stating: "Goodbye, oh our Majesty, I am going back to the kingdom of the gods in heaven. In the future, five hundred years hence, I will come back again, descend on the island of Java, to spread my religion of Buddhi (Buddha). At that time the second glorious Majapahit epoch will come to prevail again on

Funding by IKS-MoE

earth. And at the same time it will also be its last period. The period where the raft of cork will sink down (into the water) and the black stone will float, and the people will live in equality. Before this period comes, the island of Java will be subjugated firstly by the White Buffalo (Kebo bule) for at least forty four windus (one windu is equal to eight years. Indonesia, particularly Java island, was ruled by the Dutch for about 350 years). This Kerbau Bule will be driven out of the area by the appearance of the Satrya Kuning Cebol Kepalang hero (the hero of yellow short body). This Kerbau Edan will free the island of Java from the hands of the Kerbau Bule through battle. This happens after the appearance of the red colour from the east because this Satrya Kuning (the yellow-whitish hero) emanates from red blood in his origin. By his attack, the Kebo Bule (white buffalo) will be forced to go back to his original stockpen. After that there will be twin kings, similar in beauty. Under their rule, the honest will suffer and the dishonest will get happiness. The ideological controversies will grow more fierce. Insecurity will prevail everywhere. Most areas of the world will be affected and hit by natural disasters. The volcanos will erupt, pouring out lava. The river's issue often removes and most rivers will often be flooded. The impending danger of fire and of wind will come in turn. Cyclone will rage and erosion will hit. Many people will suffer from starvation and disease astride everywhere. In such a situation of the world, I remind you all my descendants i.e. all the people who live in the island of Java, that you should be honest, firm, patient, full of faith, careful and alert. My coming will coincide with that of Ratu Adil 'King of Justice', to do justice against any one who acts against humanity, whose action is always in conflict with the law of the state, who rapes, or deprives another of his property, exploits, robs, obtains something through plunder, violates, engages in corruption and bribery, kills other people for his living and abuses against the law of God and the like! Be conscientious whosoever would like to be conscientious. Do believe, whosoever would like to believe!" This voice of Sabdapalon was receding up and up into the sky, echoed for a while and disappeared soon afterward. "Now, Sabdapalon has already disappeared, oh grandfather! Now I would like to write *jenger* 'sign' here on the stone", the king said. After inscribing the sign, king Kertabumi, along with Nayogenggong, immediately continued the journey on and on into the faraway horizons, and finally they disappeared in the darkness of the night. Ever since the sign was inscribed by king Kertabumi, the mountain has been known as Jenger which in due course of time is now called 'Jengger'.

H. W. BAILEY, CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND)

THE GREAT PRINCE TCŪṂ-TTEHI

Among the gems of early Iranian literature are the poems of the Great Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi (tsūn-teg) in form of a deśanā or deśita (of Buddhist Sanskrit), a profession of devotion and faith in the Buddhist manner. There are three poems signed by the insertion of his name. One has been rendered into English in the *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown* (1962:18-22) from the text in my *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* 1951:62-66.

The second poem is more personal, in the same book 47-53, with a few details of his own family. A full translation is not offered here but a selection from the numbered verses will indicate its interest and contents. In verse 38 he turns to his father: My dear delightful father, the King of Kings, the Sacred Lord (Chinese śiṃ kuṃ), who practised vast noble goodness, may his life in the triple guise flourish. This Chinese title is used also of the King of Khotan. In verse 39 it is the turn of his mother: My dear delightful mother, the Great Chinese Queen, who gave human life (*gati*) to me, may her life in triple guise flourish. In verse 40 he cares for the royal family and his own attendants: Next may at all times the princes and princesses retain health. These my dear attendants who serve me in love, may their troubles and illnesses be calmed and disappear, may they live long. So in verse 41 he turns to himself: Then of myself also Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi, may all troubles cease, attacks, illnesses, sorrows, in pleasure may I live for a long time. In verse 44 is his literary signature: The Great Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi deigned (or ordered) to write in desire of bodhi-knowledge. Homage.

The Prince has the Indian background of Buddhist texts. He bows to the four Bodhisattvas Lokeśvara, Mañjuśrī, Kṣitigarbha and Samantabhadra. He compares the Bhikṣusaṅgha to the Ratna-dvīpa. He has the full vocabulary of the Buddhist devotee; desires rebirth as a male, strong as an athlete; desires rebirth in a noble family with a vajra-(diamond) body.

The China of the Khotan writers of the tenth century was the almost independent State of Sha-ṭṣou where two distinguished Chinese families Ṭṣang and Ts'au were long in power (848-circa 1055). The Khotan King Viśa' Śūra (ruling 967-77) was nephew, as son of his mother's brother, to the Sha-ṭṣou ruler Ta Uang.

Funding by IKS-MoE

SLAVI DONCHEV, SOFIA (BULGARIA)

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND BULGARIA*

This paper presents data pointing to Buddhist influence in old Bulgarian monuments of the 8th-9th century. The subjects for comparative analysis are: (i) the horsemen effigies of Preslav and Madara, their parallels have been sought among Buddhist figures of Tibet and Central Asia belonging to the 17th-19th century, having a pre-Buddhist basis; and (ii) horsemen with the characteristic ladies' side-saddle posture attributed to the European Huns of the 4th century. The HunoBulgarians-Tangrists who adopted Buddhism in Central Asia during the last centuries B.C. were the carriers of Buddhist worship objects to Europe. The problem is discussed from the point of view of art criticism, as well as from the historical point of view.

Among the monuments of the First Bulgarian State an important place is occupied by horsemen figures to be found with the remnants of the early capitals of Pliska and Veliki Preslav. These were, initially, graphiti engraved in stone, like the Preslav Horseman. An evolution of this tradition brought about the creation of the Madara Horseman in the 9th century, a monumental rock relief surrounded by an inscription. In our opinion, they are connected with Bulgarian customs of that period, the former being forerunners of the latter. While the Preslav Horseman is classified among the primitive works cut "by most ordinary men", the Madara Horseman marks a summit in old Bulgarian art, and is a unique monument of its kind in Europe.

We are not going to dwell on the vast literature devoted to the subject, chiefly concerning the Madara relief, for lack of space and because of the new line of research we are going to follow[1]. We shall just mention that certain authors compare the horsemen-graphiti with similar ones from Saltovo and Sulek, while others point out that the Madara Horseman is a representative of "... a more independent, purely highly original Bulgarian art" (3:45) and direct the "searching of its root in the East ... in the realm of traditions that have created the treasure of Nagyszentmiklos and the woodcarving on Terachina's coffin" (5:18-19).

---

* Presented at the Third International Congress of Mongolists, Ulanbator, 1976.

[1] "The Madara Horseman" (Bulg. Acad. of Sciences, Sofia 1956) is the latest investigation of the monument, a complete bibliography on the subject, as well as an attempt to decipher its inscription.

Funding by IKS-MoE

The investigations carried out in Ulanbator during 1965-66 were connected with the Madara Horseman (7:55). Among the later documented exhibits, some pieces showed a definite similarity with iconographic peculiarities of the Preslav Horseman. The traditional Tibetan and other Buddhist figures cast in bronze and drawn on cloth were widely spread in Central Asia in the 17th-19th centuries. According to us, being traditional and cult reflections, these figures should repeat the pattern of considerably earlier examples. The obvious pre-Buddhist background marks some of them: a diadem formed of skulls, a necklace of human heads, a skull-cup (kapāla), as well as the human body between the teeth, are their almost invariable attributes, a far-off reminder of most ancient cannibalism (11:18). The skull-cup, on the other hand, is connected with a ritual familiar also to the Scythians and the Huns who during the first half of the second century appeared on European frontiers (2:22). The Lamaist saints are often riding a mule, an animal bred by the Huns in Central Asia (De Groot). Moreover, the riders are sometimes displayed in the side posture. A similar posture, however, is attributed by Amian Marcelin (ab. 37), in his "History", to the European Huns (31.2), a posture which should probably be accepted as generally belonging to the Huns. The same manner of riding is observed by the horsemen of certain graphiti, including the Preslav one. We have to point out that the parallels we are going to draw upon were spread in ancient times over a united area, the advance of the HunoBulgarians towards Central Europe who later established Danubian Bulgaria in the 7th cent., having started, according to some scholars, from this territory (2:21-22). It is an area where we find both the traces of the ideographic writing of the Huns (8:119), and up to the present day, the use of a calendar known to European science from certain Bulgarian monuments, and familiar as 'Old Bulgarian' (6:9, 11-13), its native place being Central Asia.

Following the requirements of this study, we shall confine ourselves to a brief description of the models compared, Bulgarian and Eastern, both pointing to peculiarities that bring them close to one another.

THE PRESLAV HORSEMAN

It represents a full face, side saddle posture rider, with the horse moving left. His head is protected by a conic helmet, hanging out of which are pendants ending in small circles. In his hand he is carrying a spear with a band-shape bordered flag. He has a sword in his belt. His rectangular saddle has no stirrups and is richly ornamented with pendants hanging down from the chest and the tail saddle-girths. The horse is followed by a dog. In front of

Funding by IKS-MoE

and above the horse's head a bird has spread its wings. The conventional line suggesting the ground is lacking.

A close parallel of the horseman described is presented by the figure painted on cloth kept in the Bogdogegen Palace Museum at Ulanbator. Mr. N. Tshultem and others identify it as God Jamba, while others like Mr. D. Maidar as Maitreya (in Mongolian Maidar). Represented is a rider in aside-saddle posture, on a horse moving left, its head turned against the viewer. The rider is waving a sceptre-sword in his right hand, and a mouse in his left (a sign of Central Asian zodiac), supporting at the same time a spear with a band-shaped bordered flag. On his head surrounded by a halo, coming down upon which is a bird, the horseman is wearing either a turban, or his hair up in the form of a conus and shaken around ear-rings. On both sides over his head there is a sun and a moon. The saddle is without stirrups. The rein, as well as the chest and tail saddle-girths are richly ornamented with pendants. A dog with a necklace is following. Close to this description though riding the horse in the ordinary manner, is the figure of Virūḍhaka, which we are going to discuss later.

The comparison between the Central Asian Horseman and the Preslav one makes it clear that the latter, in accordance with the humble abilities of its author, contains essential marks of significance and form of the distant Eastern image which we accept as its prototype: the direction of the movement, the pace of the horse, the side-saddle posture, the dog with the necklace, the bird, etc. A careful examination of the Preslav Horseman in the original will show that: firstly, the pendants hanging out of his helmet and in small circles remind of the ear-rings of the prototype and, secondly, that a quartz grain swelling out on the limestone surface has stopped half way the movement of the chisel in its intention to gauge the necklace of the dog. The exchange of the turban, or the upward hairdress of the prototype for the similar form of the helmet is easy to understand. The 'sculptor' of the Preslav Horseman, however, has found himself in a considerably difficult position in trying to reproduce the curved line of the horse neck and the head of the horse in its face, as well as the motion of the bird flying down, on the Eastern model. This must have been the reason why the head of the horse is given in profile, while the bird becomes a familiar heraldic sign (in Altai too). The most important difficulty follows from the fact that the Preslav graphiti is not the work of a lama-artist, but of a casual walker along the walls of the town. Neglecting the above-mentioned insignificant and quite explainable differences, we can regard the appearance of the Preslav Horseman as an awkward effort to reproduce a familiar image.

Funding by IKS-MoE

THB MADARA HORSEMAN

In the outskirts of the village Madara, the cult centre of "heathen" Bulgaria, cut on high rock is a relief in natural size. Its composition is quite complicated—a rider on horseback, the horse moving right, and followed by a dog. Agonizing under the forelegs of the horse is a lion, pierced through by a spear. There is an inscription cut around the relief. As a result of more than half a century of long investigations, and after the most serious documentation of the condition of both relief and inscription undertaken by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Collective in 1954, it has been established that the horseman is a monument belonging to the First Bulgarian State, while the inscription is its earliest document. It is assumed that the relief shows a Bulgarian ruler of that time. Of particular interest to our study is the central figure of the relief.

The rider is sitting on the horse in an ordinary manner, his body being turned in three-fourth profile. A decoration over his head, the face of which has eroded, is suggested by pictures taken earlier. His right hand "is holding an unidentified spherical object" (4:70), while the left one is raised in a definite gesture over the horse's neck. The leg in sight is stepped in a stirrup. What attracts our attention is the manner in which the horse is moving: the trunk in profile, the head facing us, it is going at an amble; there are no hints of the ground, or any cornice, the shadows under the hoofs show that the horse is moving in the air. In its forehead, a hole has been provided, which should have held a decoration in the past (1:125). Both the chest and the saddle-girths, the latter interlaced behind the saddle, are decorated with buttons. The dog is catching-up with the horseman, also running in the air, its tongue hanging down between its teeth. There is trace of a necklace around the dog's neck. Stopped in its movement against the horseman a lion is agonising, his head bent between his paws. The spear which has pierced him through has a flag on.

The relief and the inscriptions have suffered heavy damage by erosion.[2] Certain details recorded at the beginning of the century as well as the 'decoration' from the head of the horseman have been erased while the objects decorating the horse's forehead have long since disappeared. Other details, as the face of the horseman, the spherical object in his right hand, of which some vague traces have been preserved, cannot be restored in their initial form and significance,

---

[2] As a result of the inscription's bad condition, the efforts to decipher it have not given any satisfactory answer as to the identity of the ruler represented, hence, to the exact date of the monument.

Funding by IKS-MoE

unless some parallels with their characteristics are called to the rescue. The existence of a halo round the horseman's head, for example, has been discovered only as a result of the parallelism of style made with the figures of Jamba-Maidar and Virūḍhaka which, thanks to their common iconography and certain details of essential value, represent a useful addition to the peculiarities bringing the Madara Horseman closer to the figure of Lha-mo.

Lha-mo is also presented in profile, she is riding in a side-saddle posture (11, samples 39-42). A diadem of skulls ornaments her halo surrounding the head, while her mobile body clothed in a mantle and a scarf is decorated by a necklace of human heads. In her left hand she is holding a skull-cup, her right one raised in a definite gesture over the mane of the mule (in paintings she is holding a sceptre). The mule is going at an amble over small clouds. Its head is, as a rule, turned to face us, there is a gold decoration in the form of a disk (sun-symbol) on the forehead; the chest and tail saddle-girths are decorated by various symbols and often by human heads. We can see a decoration of human heads on the saddle of the Nagyszentmiklos treasure Horseman (the figure on pitcher no. 2).

The figure of Virūḍhaka is brought close to the Madara figure by the ordinary posture of the horseman, the 'turban' on his head and the halo over it, the girth behind which the tail stirrup of the saddle is interwoven, as well as by precisely reproduced amble of the horse walking in step with the dog (with a necklace) on a common cloud. Here we should like to point again to the absence of ground under the hoofs of the horse and the dog's legs in the Madara relief. The fact that the sculptor has placed the lion, the only additional participant in the composition, on the protruding part of the rock (according to Eastern prototypes the other figures are flying) is hardly to be considered mere chance. On the other hand, if we should consider that the gilding of the decoration on the head of Lha-mo's mule has been very essential, then we are in a position to give a satisfactory answer to the question, why the now-missing decoration on the horse's forehead in the Madara relief had to be made separately, not in the stone itself. It had to be made of gold! In Bulgarian folk tales we meet a hero riding a horse with a sun or a star on its forehead. The most probable roots of a decoration of that kind are to be sought in a custom which has become known after the restoration of the Scythian reins spread from the Altai to the Black Sea region: hanging on thin straps over the horse's forehead is either a disc (a sun), or a half-moon, a decoration always met with in Eastern images under discussion. This reminds us also of the title of the Huns Shan-jui "enthroned by the Sun and the Moon" (10:87).

Funding by IKS-MoE

An interesting point can be deduced from the fact that the horse of the Madara relief is of the same breed as the one of the famous monument of Tai-tzun: a thickset torso, a heavy rear, a short and stocky neck, a large head and shorter broad-hoofed legs. The Madara dog has also its precise parallel, in respect to breed and manner of representation, in Nadjmeddin Kubra of Kunia-Urgench.

Setting aside the difference in the direction of the movement of the Madara relief, which can be attributed to the influence of the cult-image of Thracian Horseman (7:59-60), we come upon the amazing similarity between the figures compared. In both cases we could not have possibly presented a more satisfactory explanation than the one given above: figures similar to the Eastern parallels—paintings or figurines of bronze (or gold, according to other sources)—were introduced in the Danube area since the arrival of HunnoBulgarians. We suppose that the Madara sculptor and the Preslav "scratcher" should have copied such examples in their works.

There are certain monuments and documents, whose presence on Bulgarian soil and treatment in the light of our studies, have acquired a particular value:

1. The term 'pagan' in Byzantian chronicles shows simply that the HunnoBulgarians were not Christians.
2. Certain monuments in Bulgaria have preserved a record of horsemen in a side-saddle posture.
3. The plans of the early worship buildings in Pliska, Madara and Veliki Preslav—the so-called 'kapishta'—are connected with certain Buddhist buildings in Central Asia similar to them (15:215).
4. The colonies of rock monasteries and temples, remnants of which cover North Bulgaria up to our days and the whole area of Dobruja, have their respective Buddhist likes in Eastern Turkestan, in Afghanistan and North India (8:117). They are being connected with the pilgrims' movements of the 13th-14th century, though some of them have preserved intelligible texts from the Hunno-Bulgarian ideographic writing (14: samples 210, 219), and thus betray quite an early origin.
5. The Byzantine chronicler Johan Malala (A. D. 528) reports gold and silver idols worshipped by the HunnoBulgarians to the North of Caucasus (2:49).
6. North Bulgarian museums at Razgrad and Pleven have preserved original Buddhist bronze figures, discovered in the course of agricultural works (not dated, because discovered in the absence of an archaeologist).

Funding by IKS-MoE

7. Medieval sources of Bulgarian history often mention idols of the HunnoBulgarians, though material evidence has not been provided as yet.

8. In his reply to the unpreserved letter of the Bulgarian Tzar Petar (10th century), in which he asks for advise how to act against the heretics, the Constantinople Patriarch Theophilactus has mentioned the name of Buddha, too.

9. The Chatalare inscription of Khan Omurtag certifies that at the time, in the aul on the Ticha river, two lions were erected on pillars. One of those lions, found during excavations, is marked with the HunnoBulgarian 'tamga'. The tradition of lion-guards has a Buddhist origin. There is a pair of lions on the pedestal of the Buddha at the Razgrad Museum.

10. Certain toponyms and anthroponyms that support the thesis of Buddhist influence in Medieval Bulgaria deserve the attention of linguists: BUDA: a ridge of the Vitosha mountain; BUDA: a ladies' name; BUDIO, BUDIM: men's name. The name *Maidar* is in a position to explain the origin of the toponym Madara, as well as the horseman and the relief itself: Madar, Madara horseman.

The result of this comparative analysis can contribute also to solve the still disputed problem regarding the identity of the ruler presented in the Madara relief. The skull-cup identified in the right hand of the horseman reminds us of Khan Krum's cup made of the silver-bound skull of the Emperor Nikephorus (A. D. 811, 2:336). In this particular case, apart from the fact that the name of Khan Krum is mentioned in the inscriptions around the relief, we are referring to the example already proved, suggesting the possibility of the cult figures to reflect real facts of history and real persons too (11:26-31). During this period, the Bulgarian ruler was also the sole person in service of the Tangrist cult. It has been proved, moreover, that the Madara relief does not represent a hunting scene. The thesis of 'a triumph over the enemies' is not convincing either. It is possible that the killed lion should represent some sort of magic—the name of the Byzantine Emperor who ordered the ambush in which Khan Krum was wounded in A. D. 813 was Lion V (2:349-354). The Byzantine chronicler informs us that Khan Krum had been wounded "by the LION" (2:353, rem. 67).

From what has been said up till now enables us to explain, though in brief, the relations we suggest from the historical point of view. Taking into consideration the information concerning (i) the beginning of the migration of the HunnoBulgarians from Central Asia (end of 1st—beginning of 2nd century, 2:21); (ii) their appearance on the borders of Europe in the mid 2nd cent.,

Funding by IKS-MoE

2:22); and (iii) the existence of literature describing the contacts of the Asiatic Huns with the Buddhist world, before starting westward—we are going to trace back the possibility of the Huns having adopted Buddhism as early as it made its first steps outside India.

1. The spread of Buddhism is connected with the activity of missionaries sent by Aśoka the Maurya to Ceylon and Central Asia (mid 3rd century B. C.). Their road in the last case was directed against the stream of the Indus, up to the ridges reaching down East Turkestan. The only possible contacts from that place are to be sought in the direction of Gobi—a territory inhabited at the time by the Huns.

2. The golden trophy captured by Ho-tzui-bin in 121 B. C. is generally considered a Buddhist idol.

3. Chinese chronicles report destroyed monasteries in the lands of the Huns after the military actions had been transferred from China to their territory (2nd century B. C.).

4. The historiographers of Buddhism are insistent in pointing out the early adoption of Buddhist teaching in Mongolia of that time, and before Tibet and China (2nd century B. C., 12:30-33).

5. Criticising the efforts of Sh. Damgin to point to the Mongols of that time (i.e. the Huns—Donchev) as the earliest followers of Buddhism, Sh. Bira nevertheless suggests that a certain possibility of the Huns having adopted the Buddhist Teaching after capturing East Turkestan (Khotan) (2nd century B. C.), where it had already spread (12:32), is not to be excluded.

6. In a comment on the information provided by the Chinese sources concerning the events connected with the death of the Huns' Shan-jui Tu-manj, N.Y. Bichurin adds some data given by other ancient authors, according to whom, Mo-de (Ogus Khan) had to be killed because "he was worshipping the God of a new creed", or "because of the introduction of a new creed". Among the territories captured by Mo-de, the whole of Turkestan is mentioned, "from Hami to the Caspian Sea" (9:56-57).

Less than a century later, the Chinese were going to capture the gold Buddhist idol in 121 B. C., while to the North of Caucasus, in 528, the Huno-Bulgarians were worshipping gold idols, most probably brought to Danubian Bulgaria, too, after 679. The finds from Razgrad, Pleven and the village Vinarovo (Vidin's region) added to the monuments compared above, could well be taken as a proof of our thesis.

And now, here is a curious detail: in the inscription from Tsagangol (17:67-4, sample 2/22-23) we meet, among other signs, the ones known in the

Funding by IKS-MoE

early Indian monuments as brand-seals of Aśoka the Maurya (13:163, pl. 14)[3].

For the time being, we can point to the territory of Mediaeval Bulgaria as the well-founded western boundary of Buddhist penetration.

It is necessary to mention also the Buddha found in Helgö, Sweden.[4] Its presence in Sweden is considered to be the result of an exchange bargain, without being connected with archeological finds in Norway. These finds are considered Irish, because of their origin and technique. Other monuments pointing to a definite eastern influence, if not a Buddhist one, are to be found there, too: figures of dragons, "Ancestor" masks in metal and wood (Oseberg cart), ceilings and textiles decorated with the cyclical signs of the calendar of Central Asia (16:134), 'lion-guards' (16:120), and others (8:124, note 50).

Information about the relations between the HunnoBulgarians, who brought the Central Asian calendar to Europe, and the Scandinavian population within the Union formed in the 5th century to the North of the Rhine-Danube line, is found in the Old German and Scandinavian epos, the 'Nibelungenslied'. It would have been a sufficient explanation of the road through which an influence of that kind should have penetrated. A help in this respect will also be provided through the solution of the problem concerning the origin of urbonyms like BUDAfors (a railway station in Sweden), and BUDApest, one of the centres of the European Huns.

All arguments adduced, support the supposition that as a result of the activity of the missionaries sent by Aśoka, the Huns (or a part of them), not only acquainted themselves with, but also adopted the early forms of Buddhist teaching already in Central Asia, where toleration of other creeds to a considerable extent had been keeping house together with the local Tangrism and Shamanism.

In the meantime, a large amount of material has come up, requiring explanation from the point of view of both art-criticism and the historical context. We are engaged in collecting and studying additional data, which supports our initial conclusions. It was essential for us, however, to table for discussion this line in the manifestation of those influences which—together with the writing of HunnoBulgarians and their calendar, both found on the territory of Medieval Bulgaria—find their roots in Central Asia.

---

[3] The second sign (28-33) which is mistaken in a small detail suggests that it might have been copied from a foreign model.

[4] The note by Hanna Rydh is cited at the end of this paper.

Funding by IKS-MoE

LITERATURE CITED

1. Madarskiyat Konnik, Sbornik, BAN, Sofia, 1956.
2. V. N. Zlatarski, Istoriya na b'lgarskata d'rzhava prez srednite vekove, t. 1 ch. 1, Sofia, 1970.
3. K. Mirtev, Madara i Madarskiya Konnik, BIB, t. 1, 1930.
4. N. Mavrodinov, Starob'lgarskoto Izkustvo, Sofia, 1959.
5. At. Vozhkov, Starobolgarskoe Izobrazitel'noe Iskusstvo, Sofia, 1964.
6. V. Rogeb, Astronomiceski osnovi na P'rvob'lgarskoto Letobroene, BAN, Sofia, 1974.
7. Sl. Doncev, Madarskiyat Konnik, problemi na Izkustvoto, BAN, Sofia, 1970, kn. 3 s. 55 sl.
8. Sl. Doncev, Pismenost Prabolgarov i Slavyanskaya Azbuka, Mater. Mezhdunar. Simpoz. "Rol' Konevikh Narodov v tsivilizatsii Tsentral'noi Azii", MAN, Ulanbator, 1974, s. 115 sl.
9. N. Ya. Bicurin, Sobranie Svedenni o Narodakh Obitavzhikh v Srednei Azii v Drevnie Vremena, t. 1, 1950.
10. L. Gumilev, Khunnu, Moscow, 1960.
11. L. Gumilev, Staroburyatskaya Zhivopis, Moscow, 1975.
12. Sh. Bira, O "Zolotoi Knige" Sh. Damdina, Ulanbator, 1964.
13. D. Kosambi, Kultura i Tsivilizatsiya Drevnei Indii, Moscow, 1968.
14. Din Istoria Dobrugei, vol. III, Bibliotheca historica Romaniae IX, Bucuresti, 1971.
15. B. Brentjes, On the Prototype of the Protobulgarian Temples at Plisk, Preslav and Madara, *East and West* (Rome) 21(1971).
16. Roar Hauglid, Old Art and Monumental Buildings in Norway, Oslo (Dreyers Forlag).
17. B. Rinchen, The Tsagan Gol Petroglyphs, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougriene*, 1966.

APPENDIX 1

VLADIMIR SVINTILA

A NEW STATUETTE OF BUDDHA*

Four statuettes of Buddha were found in Bulgaria in the period between 1920 and 1942, during chance diggings. They were found in the surroundings of Vidin, Razgrad, Pleven and Sofia. Three of the statuettes have various specific features distinguishing them from the classical iconographic types.

---

* Reprinted from *Obzor* 47(1979).53-54.

Buddha is depicted like a Christian prelate (in the vestments of a bishop) in the Vidin statuette (besides this, he is here depicted with a shaved head) and he is wearing a Mongolian-like vestment and a hat of the Tibetan type in the Pleven statuette. Buddha is under the strong influence of the plastics of the so-called 'stone grandmothers' in the Razgrad copy, in which his head is oval without the features of the face being marked or made clear. In all three types the gestures of the hands, characteristic of Buddhist iconography (mudrā) are lacking. The Vidin, Pleven and Razgrad finds do not allow any parallels whatever to be drawn, either with classical Buddhist art, or with the Buddhist plastics of the steppes of Central Asia, Mongolia, Tibet and Northern India (only the Vidin Buddha seems to have kept in its type certain reminiscences of the paintings of Tun-huang). This allows us to set this find apart in a different school, definitely marked with the features of provincialism and the primitive. As to the fourth statuette, found in the surroundings of Sofia, it is an image of Gaṇeśa in marble, done in open work, and having rather the character of an amulet.

The four statuettes had been left in various museums or with private persons in the course of nearly half a century and had always been looked upon as accidental finds. But the discovery of a Buddha seated upon a lotus blossom in Malmö near Stockholm reminded us that in the 'thirties and the early forties' of this century statuettes of Buddha used to be sold in antique shops in Sofia, all found in the Bulgarian lands. Their purchasers were chiefly dealers in antiquities from Vienna and Zagreb. I then turned to all persons whom I knew had certain data on the presence of Buddhist art in Bulgaria. The kindly assistance of many, above all that of architect Slavi Donchev, who has for years been engaged in research on Bulgaro-Mongolian cultural relations, gave me the possibility of obtaining full documentation, the best in existence for the present. New finds were undoubtedly necessary to certify the thesis on the spread of the Buddhist religion in the period of the First Bulgarian kingdom (681-1018), at least among certain of the Proto-Bulgarian families.

They were not late in coming to light. A new statuette of Buddha was discovered in 1954 in the course of a hunt. It was found in the surroundings of the town of Sliven. In contrast to the previous finds, the new statuette is very close to the classical Buddhist iconography (but it nevertheless has essential differences from the classical iconographic type). The hands are in a state, meaning concentration, absorption in oneself.

The Sliven Buddha differs essentially from the classical iconography: a cup is placed in the hands, which half cover it. This cup cannot be anything but pūrṇaghaṭa, the Cup which only in a certain aspect can be juxtaposed with the European idea of the Horn of Plenty. In contrast to the Horn of Plenty, the Pūrṇaghaṭa expresses a more general idea of the gifts of the earth. This idea is expressed in the decorative motifs of winding lianas and plants (the Sūrya Temple in Mudhara). It is not concretely indicated in the iconography of Pañchika and Hārīti, 'gods of fullness'. It is obvious that in the Sliven Buddha this symbol has acquired a concrete, object form, probably in connection with the influence of the local ideas. Let us note the circumstance, which may prove to be essential, namely that this cup is spherical.

The Sliven Buddha, like the previously found statuettes, is seated in the classical pose of lotus on a two-step border, decorated with lotus leaves; he is wearing a peplos (lacking in the former statuettes), richly draped on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm bare. The breast is feminine as in the so-called Kapardī types, originating from Mathura (first-second century A. D.). The ears are exaggeratedly prolonged, a characteristic feature of the plastics from Gandhara (third-fourth century A. D.) without, however, their lobes being pierced. The peplos is not transparent, and this is an essential difference from the classical type. Is is slightly incrusted on the back of the statuette, a thickly woven and probably multicoloured fabric being thus hinted at (another difference). The hair-do of the statuette is two stepped; the so-called 'uṣṇīṣa' is developed on the second step. This feature is also most essential, probably being a kind of interpretation of the attribute of Buddha's belonging to a sect.

The type of Buddha is at first sight openly Mongoloid, but the broad nose is flattened in an 'aquiline' way at the tip. The irises form two narrow slits through which 'dead eyes' look at us (one more essential difference from the classical iconographic type).

The style of the statuette also has certain essential characteristics. A certain preference is shown for decorativeness—the garment and the way it is draped. Under the peplos, which covers the feet as well here (another exception), the forms of the knees are sharply marked (a property of sculpture from Mathura), the wide border in which the peplos ends also being emphasized and richly ornamented. It should be noted that the Sliven Buddha wears something like a buckle under his breast, and we have grounds to allow that it is a Jaina emblem.

In his attempt to obtain a fully symmetrical solution of the statuette, the unknown sculptor who made it seriously deformed the right arm, giving it an unnatural arched shape. This also removed the Sliven Buddha from classical

Buddhist plastics, which is anatomically faultless.

In it 'barbarous cubism' of the treatment of the head, the general decorativeness of the style, the naive treatment of the hair-do and the 'uṣṇīṣa', as well as of the traits, the Sliven Buddha's face is akin to the other statuettes of him found in Bulgaria. Although in a number of respects it is closer to the classical iconography, the new statuette has something very much in common with the Vidin, Pleven and Razgrad Buddhas because of its naivety. It testifies to the same primitive character and 'clumsiness', the comparatively same ignorance of classical models, and in the final count, the same love of expression. In the series of statuettes of Buddha found and studied so far, it is more like the beginning than the end of a local school.

Like the preceding statuettes, the Sliven Buddha was within the boundaries of Bulgaria in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The fact that a fifth statuette of Buddha has already been found in Bulgarian lands entirely rejects the pretensions that accidental finds are in question here, objects brought from distant countries by 'an inquisitive man.' 'Inquisitive men' are already too numerous and are to be found in all regions of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, more exactly in the lands south of the Danube.

Buddhism, which was probably the religion of certain Proto-Bulgarian families as it would appear, has left certain traces in the country's toponymy. Madar can be placed first, a name close to *madhura* 'sweet' in Sanskrit, which is one of Buddha's appellations, the 'gentle' one. However, certain hypotheses, which look Utopian for the present, are also possible. For instance the name of the town of Varna; this 'linguistic monstrosity' from the point of view of Bulgarian linguistics, insubmissive to the law of the open syllable, strangely reminiscent of the name of the sacred city of Varanasi (today Benares): which is formed from vāri (water) and in its inner form calls to mind the Slav Voden. In the toponym Kavarna, the case is still stranger. In Sanskrit 'ka' means 'sea' or 'ocean'. In this case it could well be interpreted as 'Voden at the sea'. However, the most amazing thing is the closeness between the Sanskrit vāri-dhara, which means 'river', and the name of the River Vardar. The presence of such a Hinduism can well be explained by the function which the river has in the Buddhist sermon, a function as essential, perhaps, as is that of the 'Lamb' in Christianity.

This group of topo- and hydronyms (other also exist) could be called 'pseudo-Hinduisms'. More work on toponymics, archaeology, the history of art and material culture is obviously necessary to cast more light on this as yet

Funding by IKS-MoE

vague problem of history. The presence of Buddhism is for the moment clear only in the finds of statuettes of Buddha—they are proof of a degree of sensory authenticity.

APPENDIX 2

HANNA RYDH

A NOTE ON THE FIND OF A BUDDHA SCULPTURE IN SWEDEN

The findspot is a small island, called Lillön (=The Little island) or Helgö (=The Holy island) in the Lake Mälaren, 30 km west of Stockholm. Part of the island consists of cultivated land, but another part was upto recently covered by forest. This area had just been divided in small plots for building summer houses, when in 1950 an owner of such a house by digging a hole for a flagstaff, on a depth of about 20 cm, came upon a bronze scoop, pieces of a silver bowl, pieces of glass and pots. Investigations were made by the Central office of National Antiquities, but the proper excavations started in May 1954 and are still going on, with Dr. Wilhelm Holmqvist as the leader.

The place has shown to be a very important settlement, dating back to about 400 A.D., but living on to the eleventh century, during the vikingage (from about 800) side by side with the historically and archaeologically very well known Birka on another island further in the same lake. At Helgö the mentioned area is full of remains of permanent buildings in the form of post-holes, stone rows, hearths (many of them for metal working) etc. As the place has been settled continuously for such a considerable period the building remains are in an extremely complicated relation to each other, traversing and overlying each other. The depth under the surface of the ground is 0.30-0.90 m. It has mostly been impossible to get stratigraphic differences because the ground was disturbed and re-layed innumerable times. Older and younger finds are laying side by side. There are also two small hill-forts and grave fields.

Helgö has been a genuine Swedish settlement but with a special character of handicraft and organized trade. Many foreign objects are found, glass, pottery and metalware. Here may be mentioned particularly a bronze-head of a bishop-crozier, certainly of Irish origin, the Buddha sculpture and Arabic silver coins, the oldest an Umayad, year ca. 125 (742-43 A. D.), three are stamped for Harun al Rashid.

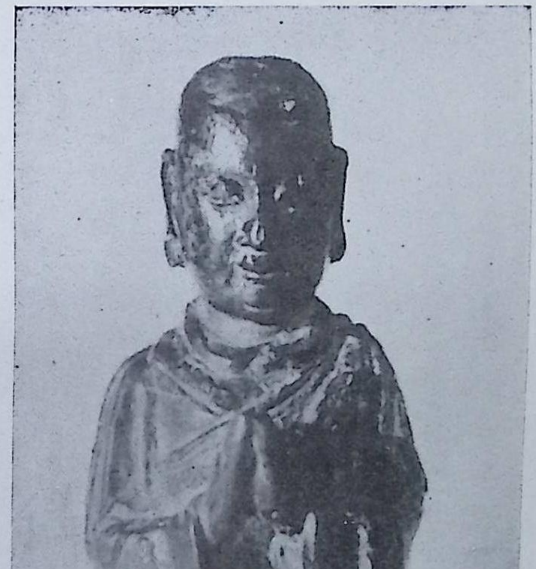
The Buddha sculpture is an exquisite piece, 8.4 cm high. The Buddha is seated with crossed legs on a lotus throne, the right arm stretched downwards and its open hand turned forward, *bhumisparśa mudrā*. The left hand is directed forward, holding an edge of the many-folded mantle *abhaya mudrā*. His eyes are

Funding by IKS-MoE

inlaid with turquoise (?) and the eye brows and the mouth with a dark substance. The mark on the forehead is of gold. There are indications on the back that the figure has leant against a decorated back piece. Judging from the style the Buddha is of Indian or neighbouring Central Asian origin, dating to the sixth century A. D. It is so far the only Indian find found in Sweden from such remote time. How it has come into the soil of Helgö is an intricate question. It is certainly not through direct contact between Sweden and India. It is also impossible to say how long time after the manufacturing the sculpture came to Sweden. The trade followed more than one way between Sweden and the south and south-east. An old route went along the German rivers Weichsel and Oder towards Hungaria, later the route along the Baltic and Russian rivers to the Black Sea and Caspian Sea became very important. The little sculpture could have been wandering from hand to hand or come more or less direct from the place where it was brought primarily. It would for instance be strange to think Arab, it is Muslim traders, as bearers of the Buddha to some vikings they met for example in Russia. The excavator brings up the question (in an article in Fornvännen) could the sculpture have been brought from a region south or south-east of the Caspian sea where some Buddhist might have settled.

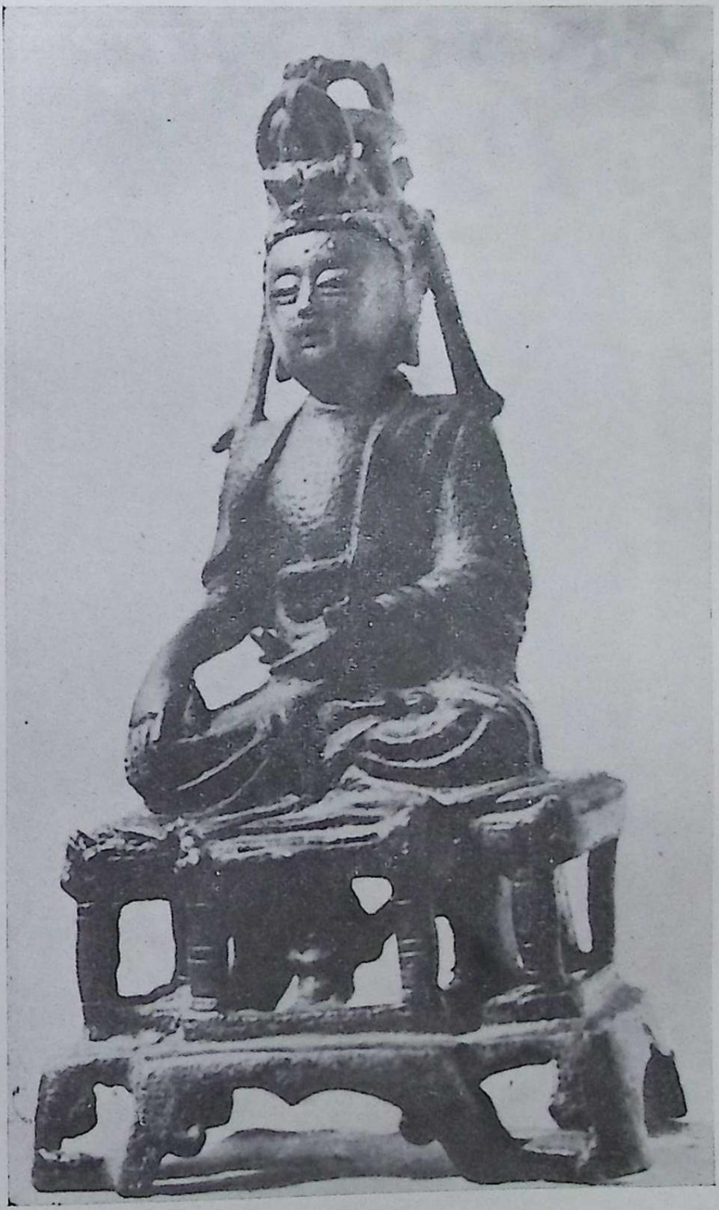
LITERATURE: Excavations of Helgö, I, Report for 1954-56, Editor Wilhelm Holmqvist in collaboration with Birgit Arrhenius and Per Lundström, Viltterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm 1961. Preliminary surveys concerning the excavation are published by W. Holmqvist in Acta Archaeologica XXV, Copenhagen 1954, Formvännen, Stockholm 1957 and Viking, Oslo 1957-58.

Funding by IKS-MoE



Buddhist statuette from Vidin

Funding by IKS-MoE



Buddhist statuette from Bulgaria

Funding by IKS-MoE

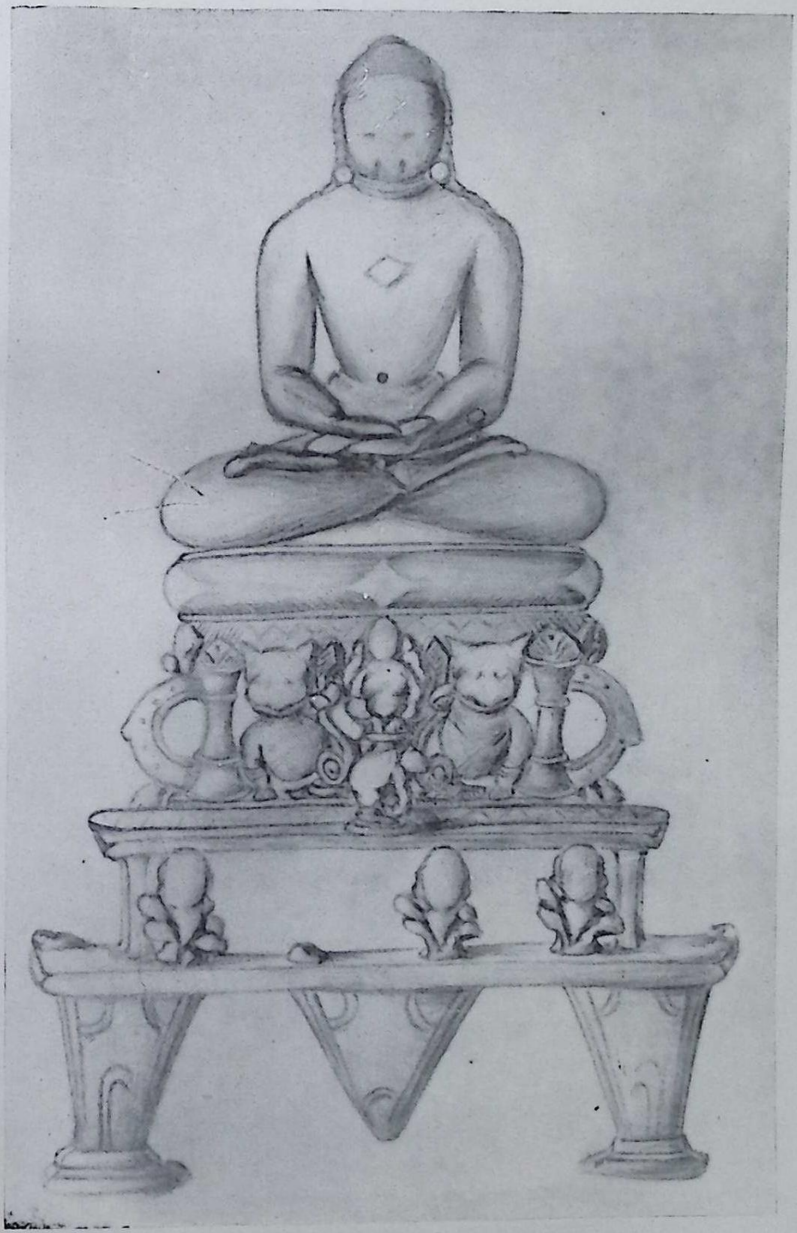
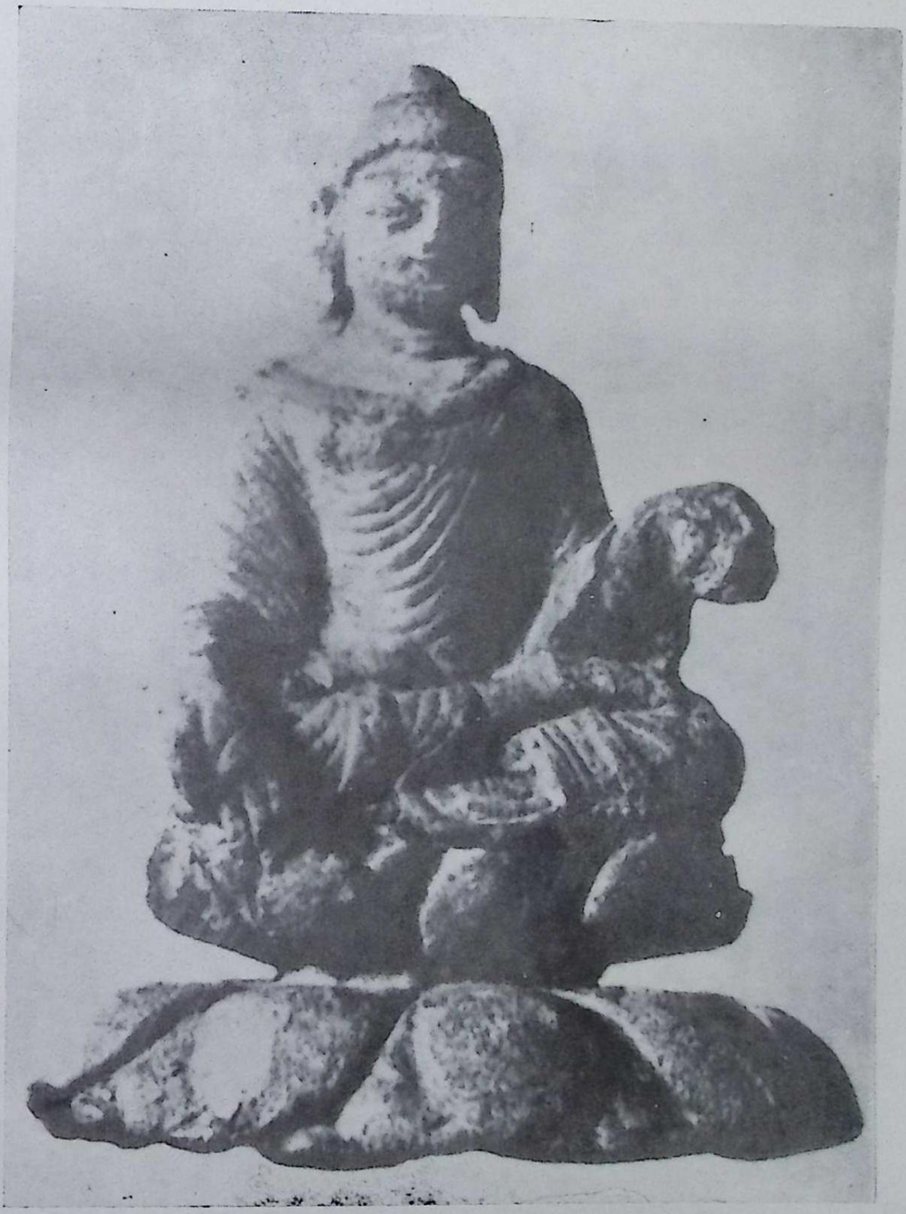


Image of Jina, from Kemala-Razgrad, North-east Bulgaria

Funding by IKS-MoE



Statuette of Buddha from the Lillön island,
30 kilometres west of Stockholm, Sweden

Funding by IKS-MoE

YOSHIKO DYKSTRA, HONOLULU (USA)*

JAPANESE STORIES ABOUT AVALOKITEŚVARA AND THE LOTUS SŪTRA**

72 The previous existence of the red cow (12.25)
73 About a government official of Higo province (12.28)
76 About the reciter of the Hokekyō at the Tada-in of Settsu Province (13.6)
77 About Shunchō who revealed the efficacy of the Sūtra (13.10)
79 About Ichiei who heard a skull reciting the Hokekyō (13.11)
80 How a dragon listened to a recitation of the Lotus Sūtra, caused rain, and died (13.33)
82 About priest Dōkō of Tennōji who assisted the Guardian of Travelers by reciting the Hokekyō (13.34)
84 About the Governor of Shinano Province who delivered a rat and a snake from their sufferings by copying the Hokekyō (14.2)
85 A widow (14.3)
88 An escapade (14.5)
90 An ascetic priest goes to Tachiyama of Ecchū and meets a young woman (14.7)
92 The grasshopper (14.15)
92 The restored Kannon (16.4)
95 The black horse and the image of Kannon (16.5)
97 About a hawk catcher of Mutsu Province who prolonged his life by the assistance of Kannon (16.6)
99 The dragon palace (16.15)
102 The snake and the protection of Kannon (16.16)
104 A woman who goes to Kyushu and escapes from robbers with Kannon's assistance (16.21)

---

* Associate Professor at the Kansai University of Foreign Studies in Osaka, Japan; was on the faculties of San Francisco State University, the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, and San Jose State University.

** "It was nice to hear that you are also very devoted to Kannon. My mother who believes in Kannon and makes regular monthly visits to the famous Asakusa Kannon Temple in Japan sent me a copy of the chapter of the Lotus Sūtra which concerns Itself exclusively with Kannon. From time to time, I recite the chapter to myself. I am sending you eighteen stories about Kannon and the Lotus Sūtra, all of which were translated from the *Konjaku Monogatari,* the largest collection of Buddhist stories of Japan (compiled around the 12th century). I hope you will like them and include them in one of your books in the near future". Yoshiko Dykstra

12.25 THE PREVIOUS EXISTENCE OF THE RED COW

(this story is in the *Konjaku Monogatari* vol. 12.25)

Long ago, a man called Takahashi no Azumahito lived in the Hamishiro village of the Yamada district of Iga province. He was wealthy and had many treasures.

To repay his obligation to his mother, Azumahito decided to copy the *Hokekyō* sūtra and to offer Buddhist services. He thought that he would like to invite someone related to himself as the lecturer.

The day before the Buddhist service was to be held, Azumahito sent a servant to find a lecturer, saying, "I wish you to regard the first priest you meet as someone related to me and to invite him." As the servant looked about, he found a mendicant priest at the village of Mitani in that district. With a begging bowl and a bag hanging from his elbow, the half-drunken priest was sleeping by the roadside.

The servant did not know that the priest was the right person, but since his master had told him to invite the first priest he met, he decided to ask him. Meanwhile, passers-by approached the priest scornfully, shaved off his long hair, and hung a rope on him as a sacred robe. This did not awaken the priest.

The servant shook the priest and woke him up. He invited the priest as he was ordered and brought him home to his master, Azumahito.

Azumahito received the priest with respect. For a day and a night, the priest was kept at the house and was provided with a new priest's robe. The mendicant priest asked, "What is this for?" "You are invited here to give a lecture on the *Hokekyō* sūtra," explained Azumahito.

The priest was bewildered. "I know nothing about the sūtra. All I know is how to chant some *dhāraṇī* charms from the *Hannyashingyō* (Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya) which I have used when begging for food all these years. I am not qualified to be a lecturer." However, Azumahito would not excuse the beggar. The mendicant priest said to himself, "Even though he made me talk about the sutra, I know nothing to say. It is better that I run away from here." But, probably suspecting this, Azumahito had the priest watched.

That night, the mendicant dreamed of a red cow which said, "I am the mother of the master of this house. I am the red cow among the cattle kept here. In my previous existence as the mother of the master, I stole and used my son's things as I wished. This is the reason I have received the body of a cow and am atoning for my sins. Now that my son is going to have a Buddhist service and have the *Hokekyō* sūtra recited for me with you as the lecturer, I can tell you this honorably. If you wish to know whether this is true, make a seat for me in the hall where you will lecture at the ceremony. I will surely sit there." The priest woke and thought his dream very strange.

Even though the mendicant priest begged to be excused, on the following morning he was dressed in ceremonial robes for the ceremony. He climbed to the high seat and only said, "I have no knowledge and am unable to preach the Law. Since the master of the house forced me, I have taken this high seat. However, I had a strange dream. And the beggar told the people the details of his dream.

After hearing the beggar's story, the master of the house immediately prepared a special seat in the house and called the cow. The cow entered and took the seat. The master began to sob, "You are my real mother. I didn't know it and have made you work for a long time! I am releasing you from all labor now." The cow listened and died at the end of the service.

All who had gathered for the service, priests and laymen, men and women, were moved to tears and their pitying voices filled the courtyard before the lecture hall. The master of the house accumulated more meritorious deeds for the sake of the cow. The admiring people realized that it was his deep wish to repay his obligation to his mother. They recognized the efficacy of the *Hokekyō* and the miraculous quality of the *dhāraṇī* charms which the mendicant priest had recited for many years.

Considering that any household animals such as cows, horses, or dogs may be related to someone in the family through a previous existence, they should not be beaten nor treated roughly.

12.28 ABOUT A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL OF HIGO PROVINCE WHO ESCAPED FROM A RASETSU DEMON[1]

Long ago, a government official lived in Higo Province. He attended diligently to official matters, leaving his home early in the morning and returning late at night. In this way he devoted himself to his duties for a number of years.

Once, because of urgent business, he left his home while it was still very dark and, unattended, he headed toward his office. Since the office was only ten blocks from his home, he usually arrived in a short time. However he became confused that day. The further he went, the longer the distance to his office seemed, and finally he lost his way. He spent all that day crossing wide fields. Even after sunset, he remained in a wild field without knowing where to find shelter for the night.

---

[1] *Rasetsu* means a rākṣasa, a devil or a cannibal.

The lamenting official looked about as he searched for the way to a village. He saw an edge of the roof of a well-built house in the foothills of a mountain. The happy official hurried toward the house, thinking, "Finally I am getting closer to a village!" He approached the house which seemed to have no occupants. He yelled as he went around the house, "Is there anyone living in this house? Please come out. What do you call this village?"

A woman's voice from the house replied, "Who are you? Quickly come in." The voice sounded quite frightening.

The official explained, "I have lost my way. Since I am in a hurry, I cannot come in. But please give me some directions."

"Well then, stay there. I will come out and show you the way," said the woman. When the official heard the woman coming out, he felt terribly frightened. Hearing the official turn his horse to flee, the woman came out saying, "Wait a minute."

The official looked back to see a woman as tall as the eaves of the house with a pair of glaring eyes. "I came to a demon's house," thought the official. He galloped away, laying on the whip.

The woman cried out, "Why are you running away? Quickly stop there!" The yelling voice horrified the stupefied official who felt as if his guts were turning over in terror. He turned and saw a demon about one *jō*[2] tall, emitting fearful lightning – like flames from its eyes and nose, and approaching him with its mouth wide open as it clapped its hands. At this fearful sight, the official almost fell from his horse. [lacuna] as he ran, he prayed, "O Kannon, please help me. Please spare my life today."

[lacuna] stambled and fell, and the official was thrown in front of his horse. "Now I will be caught and eaten," thought the official. He saw an open tomb nearby and dashed helter-skelter into it.

Finally the demon came near the opening and said, "Where did he go?" Without looking for the official, the demon began to devour the horse.

The official thought fearfully, "After the horse, the demon will surely eat me. It must know that I am down in this hole." He prayed single-mindedly, "O Kannon, please help me."

After having finished the horse, the demon came by the opening to the

---

[2] One *jō* is about ten feet.

Funding by IKS-MoE

tomb and shouted, "The man in the hole was my food for today. Why have you captured him and not let me have him? I am quite distressed since you always do such unreasonable things."

The official thought, "So the demon knows that I am hidden down in this tomb." Then someone in the tomb spoke to the demon, "He is my meal for today. So you cannot have him. You should be content with the horse that you have just eaten."

Hearing this, the official became immensely sad, thinking "So no matter what, I can not prolong my life. I was so frightened by the demon outside. Now I know that an even greater demon in this tomb will eat me. Even though I have prayed to Kannon, my life is about to end. This must be a retribution from my former life."

Meanwhile the demon outside the hole kept begging for the official, but the voice from the tomb did not relent. Finally the lamenting demon left the vicinity of the hole.

The official thought, "Now, I will be eaten." Then he heard a voice in the air, saying, "Today you were supposed to become the food of the demon. Yet due to your devout faith in Kannon, you could escape from your predicament. Hereafter, pray to Buddha single-mindedly, and recite the Hokekyō. Do you know who I am?" The official replied that he did not know. The voice explained, "I am not a demon. An ascetic lived here and built a stupa on the western summit of this place. He buried a copy of the sūtra under the stūpa. Many years have passed. The stūpa decayed and the sūtra became fragmented and was dispersed by the wind except for the initial character *myō*, which remained here. I am the initial character *myō* of the *Hokekyō*.[3] Since residing here, I have saved nine hundred and ninety-nine persons from the danger of the demon. I now have saved one thousand including you. Quickly leave here and return home. Try to pray to the Buddhas and recite the Hokekyō." A good-looking boy appeared from the hole and led the official. The official tearfully paid homage to the place and finally reached his home.

The boy took the official to the gate of his house and said, "You cultivate a pious mind and recite the Hokekyō single-mindedly." While the tearful official paid homage with his head bowed to the ground, the boy disappeared.

It was the middle of the night when the official finally entered his house and told everything to his parents, wife, and children, who were all rejoyced

---

[3] I.e., *myō* of Myōhō Rengekyō.

Funding by IKS-MoE

immensely. Later, the official became more pious, recited the Hokekyō, and venerated Kannon devoutly.

Judging by this story of the single character, *myō*, of the sūtra remaining and helping people, one can easily imagine the merits acquired by copying the sūtra with a sincere heart in the fashion prescribed by the Law. Moreover, since the efficacy of the sūtra has been proved so much in this life, one should never doubt its assistance in alleviating sufferings in one's future life. Thus it was told.

13.6 ABOUT THE RECITER OF THE HOKEKYŌ AT THE TADA-IN OF SETTSU PROVINCE

A priest lived at the Tada-in in Teshima District of Settsu Province. He had passed many years in the mountains engaged in ascetic practices and had recited the Hokekyō single-mindedly for days and nights. A certain layman, who lived nearby greatly appreciated and venerated the priest, and served him faithfully.

One day the layman fell ill and finally died. The people of his house put him in a coffin which was placed in a treetop. Five days later, he revived, and knocked on the lid of the coffin.

The frightened people did not approach the coffin. However, when they heard the voice of the layman, they thought that he must have revived, took down the coffin, and opened it to find the layman alive. Thinking this extraordinary, the people took the layman to his home.

After returning home, the layman told his wife and children: "After my death, I went to the palace of King Yama[1] who took out a ledger, and examined the tablets of my life's conduct. The king said, 'Since you have been very sinful, you should be sent to hell. However, I will pardon you by extending your life span and let you go home. This is because you have devoutly venerated the reciter of the Hokekyō for all these years. As a result of this merit, you will be released from here. After returning home, venerate the reciter of the Hokekyō. This will be more appreciated than venerating many Buddhas during the three periods of time.' After hearing King Yama's admonishment, I left his office and returned to the world.

As I was passing through a mountain field on my way home, I saw some stūpas which were indescribably beautifully decorated with the seven jewels.[2] The priest, whom I have venerated all these years, sat facing these adorned stūpas. He breathed flames from his mouth and burned all of them down. Next I heard a voice in the sky which said to me, "You should know that these stūpas appeared as the priest recited the chapter of the Apparition of a Stūpa in the Hokekyō.[3] But he has angrily scolded and abused his disciples and followers. The violent flames of his anger were blown from his mouth and burned down those stūpas. If the reciter had controlled his anger and recited the sūtra, the jeweled stūpas undoubtedly would have filled this world. Tell this to your priest!' As the voice finished, I revived."

---

[1] King Yamarāja or Emma-Ō, was popularly believed to keep records of a person's conduct in this life to judge whether he or she should be sent to heaven or hell.

All those who heard the layman's story—his wife and children, relatives, followers, and all his neighbors—thought it most unusual. The layman went to the priest and told him what had happened in the Land After Death.

The priest listened to the layman's story, regretted and repented his deeds, left his disciples and boy attendants, and lived alone, reciting the Hokekyō single-mindedly. The layman revered and served the priest more devoutly. Years later, the priest finally passed away without any sickness while reciting the sūtra single-mindedly.

Even though one is a holy man like this priest, one should not become angry and abuse others. Thus it was told.

13.10 ABOUT SHUNCHŌ WHO REVEALED THE EFFICACY OF THE SŪTRA

Long ago a reciter of sūtra, Shunchō, recited the Hokekyō for days and nights. He did not have a fixed living place, but wandered while solely reciting the sūtra.

Having a sympathetic nature, Shunchō showed mercy to others. When he saw suffering, he regarded it as if his own; when he observed others living in peace and comfort, he appreciated their peace and comfort as if his own.

Shunchō noticed prisoners in the two prisons in the east and west of the capital, and became very sad and distressed. He thought, "These criminals committed crimes and are being punished. How should I plant seeds in their

---

[2] The seven jewels usually include gold, silver, lapis lazuli, *musāragalva*, emeralds, red coral and *karketana* stones.

[3] *Hokekyō*, Ch. 11. "Then there arose a Stūpa, consisting of seven precious substances . . . . ." begins the first sentence of this chapter. See H. Kern, tr., *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* or *The Lotus of the True Law* (Sacred Books of the East, 21), Delhi, 1968 reprint.

Funding by IKS-MoE

mind to bring them to the Buddha for their future salvation and to release them from their sufferings? These criminals will undoubtedly fall into the Three Lowly Realms[1] in their future lives, if they die in prison. I will have myself imprisoned so that all the criminals in these prisons may hear my hearty recitation of the Hokekyō."

So Shunchō visited a nobleman's house, stole a gold and silver bowl, played backgammon[2] at a gambling house, and displayed the bowl to the people there. Those who had gathered and saw the bowl became suspicious and said noisily, "This very bowl has been missing from the mansion of a certain nobleman." The agitation naturally reached the authorities. Shunchō was caught, interrogated, his theft was exposed, and he was taken to prison.

Shunchō was pleased that his wish to be imprisoned was realized. To have the prisoners listen, Shunchō recited the Hokekyō single-mindedly. Many of the prisoners who heard his recitation wept joyful tears, lowered their heads and felt immensely noble. With a joyful heart, Shunchō recited the sūtra for days and nights.

Ex-emperors and princes sent messages to the chief of the police and issued orders not to examine and beat Shunchō. The chief of police dreamed that the Bodhisattva Fugen[3] (Samantabhadra), riding on a white elephant and sending forth radiance, stood facing the prison gate holding a bowl of rice. When someone asked the reason, Fugen replied that he was coming every day to offer food to Shunchō, the reciter of the Hokekyō. Startled by this revelation in his dream, the chief of police released Shunchō from prison. Shunchō was imprisoned five or six more times but he was never interrogated.

When Shunchō committed another crime and was imprisoned, the police gathered and discussed the case among themselves. "Although Shunchō is a very sinful criminal, he has been released without being questioned. He has taken advantage of this and has stolen other people's property just as he wishes. His legs should be cut off and he should be treated as a criminal.

After they had made this decision, the police officers took Shunchō near the Riding Ground of Ukon[4] and were about to cut off his legs. At that very moment Shunchō began to recite the sūtra. When the officials heard his recitation, they felt immensely noble, shed tears, and released Shunchō.

---

[1] The Three Lowly Realms include those of hell, hungry ghosts and animals.

[2] Priests and nuns were forbidden to play such games.

[3] Fugen, a bodhisattva who brings good fortune and longevity, is often portrayed mounted on a white elephant.

[4] Located southeast of the Kitano Shrine in Kyoto.

The chief of police had another dream in which a goodlooking boy dressed in formal official attire appeared and said, "To save imprisoned criminals, the holy man Shunchō deliberately committed crimes and was imprisoned seven times. This is like the expedience of the Buddhas." The chief of police was more awestruck as he awoke from his dream.

Finally, Shunchō, with no place to stay, died by the stable of the riding ground. His skull remained there and nobody disposed of it. Later the people in the vicinity heard a voice reciting the Hokekyō every night, and were immensely enobled.

They did not know who was reciting and wondered. A holy man came by, picked up the skull and buried it in a remote mountain. The reciting voice was no longer heard. Now the people knew that the skull had recited the sūtra.

The people of those days said that Shunchō was not an ordinary man but an incarnation of a bodhisattva. Thus it was told.

13.11 ABOUT ICHIEI WHO HEARD A SKULL RECITING THE HOKEKYŌ[1]

Ichiei, a reciter of sūtra, had owned a copy of the Hokekyō since childhood and had been reciting the sutra in the morning and at night for a long time. One day, firm in his faith, he was on his way to visit Kumano[2] and stayed at Mt. Shishigase.

That night he heard a faint voice reciting the Hokekyō. The voice sounded so noble that Ichiei was deeply moved, and he thought that someone else must be staying at the same place. The voice had finished reciting a portion of the sūtra at dawn.

When dawn broke, Ichiei looked about the place and saw a skeleton covered with green moss. It must have been lying there for years, but the bones were still preserved and joined together. Ichiei looked at the skull and saw a healthy fresh red tongue in the mouth hole. Ichiei felt this most extraordinary, thinking, "So this skull has been reciting the sūtra all night long. I wonder what sort of person died and left his remains which still recite the sūtra here." Overwhelmed with pity and a noble feeling, Ichiei paid his respects to

---

[1] *Hekekyō* refers to the *Lotus Sūtra*.

[2] Mt. Kumano, with its dense forests and rough terrain, has been a sacred place for mountain ascetics since the Nara period.

Funding by IKS-MoE

the skull. He stayed at the same place for another night to hear the recitation again.

That night Ichiei heard the same voice reciting the sūtra just as before. When dawn broke, he went near the skull, paid his respects to it and asked, "Although you are a skull, you have recited the sutra. How is it possible that your true heart has not been rewarded? I would like to know the reason. Let me know by all means," and Ichiei finished by praying. He stayed there another night to listen to the recitation.

That night Ichiei dreamed of a priest who said, "I am Enzen, a priest, who once lived at Tōtō on Mt. Tendai.[3] During my ascetic practices, I came to this place and died. But while still alive, I made a vow to recite the chapters of sixty thousand copies of the sūtra, but I had finished only half. So I am staying here to recite the remainder. I don't have many chapters to finish now, so soon I will have kept my vow. I will stay here all this year. Later I will be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, where I will see the Bodhisattva Maitreya.[4]"

After walking up, Ichiei revered the skull and left for Kumano. In a later year, Ichiei returned to the same place and looked for the skull, but could not find it. He stayed there a night to listen to the recitation but could not hear the voice. "As I dreamed, he must be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven," thought Ichiei, paid his respects to the spot in tears and returned to his place.

Later the story was told widely in the world and was transmitted to someone who narrates it here. Thus it was told.

13.33 HOW A DRAGON LISTENED TO A RECITATION OF THE LOTUS SŪTRA, CAUSED RAIN, AND DIED

Long ago, during the reign of Emperor [lacuna], a priest recited the Lotus Sūtra for years in the Ryuenji Temple to the south of the Daianji Temple in Nara. His daily activities included reciting the sūtra, learning the meaning of the words, and lecturing on a chapter of the sūtra.

A dragon heard the priest's recitation and lecture on the sūtra. He transformed himself into a man, came to the temple garden and listened to the daily recitation.

One day, the priest said to the dragon, "You always come to hear my recitations. Who are you?" The dragon told him the truth. Recognizing the dragon's true faith, the priest developed a sincere friendship with the dragon.

---

[3] A reference to Mt. Hiei, the headquarters of the Tendai sect.

[4] Jison, or Miroku bosatsu, is said to live and preach in the Tuṣita Heaven (J. Tosotsu)

The dragon, too, because of his deep respect for the Law, empathized with the priest. Their association became widely known among the public.

There was a drought in the country at that time. The plants of the five cereals were dying from lack of rain. All the people, including the upper and the lower classes. grieved and lamented greatly. Finally the people appealed to the emperor, "The priest who lives to the south of the Daianji Temple has associated closely with a dragon. Please summon him and tell him to make the dragon cause rain!"

The emperor listened to the appeal and summoned the priest who immediately came to the court. The emperor said to the priest, "I hear that a dragon has been listening to you and closely associates with you. The five cereal plants are dying in the present drought. Our country is confronted with a most grievous situation. Quickly recite the sūtra so that the dragon will appear. Tell him to cause it to rain. If you don't do this, you will be expelled from the country of Japan."

Obeying the imperial order, the lamenting priest returned to his temple, invited the dragon and told him the details.

The dragon said, "During these years I have listened to your recitation of the Lotus Sūtra and have discontinued my evil deeds. Instead I have had the pleasure of doing good. I would like to repay your favor at the cost of my life. Yet I don't know how to cause it to rain. This drought is due to the act of the Great Deva King, Bonten-ō, who wished to end evil in this country.

If I go and open the Gates of Rain, I will be beheaded. However, I will venerate the Lotus Sūtra and I will not be reborn in the Three Lower Realms of hell, hungry ghosts, and animals as a consequence. I will cause rain for three days. I certainly will be killed afterwards. I beg you to look for my body, bury it, and build a temple on the spot. Be sure to go and see the pool on the summit of the mountain to the west of the Heguri district. I will visit four places and one temple should be built at each place."

The lamenting priest finally accepted the dragon's offer from his fear of the imperial order and tearfully parted from the dragon.

Later, the priest reported this to the emperor. The pleased emperor was anxiously waiting for rain to fall. The promised day arrived. The sky suddenly became cloudy. The thunder rolled and a torrential rain fell continuously for three days and nights. The water irrigated the land and the five cereal plants survived. The emperor was impressed at the recovery of his land. The hundred officials including the ministers, and the farmers were immensely

Funding by IKS-MoE

pleased.

The priest, as requested by the dragon, went to the pool on the summit of the mountain and found that the water of the pool was crimson with the blood shed by the severed parts of the dragon's body.

The tearful priest buried the remnants of the dragon, built a temple on the spot. He called it the Ryūkai-ji, the Dragon Sea Temple. The priest lectured on the Lotus Sūtra in the temple for the sake of the dragon, and built temples at the three other places as he had promised the dragon. The emperor supported these temples including the Ryūshin-ji, the Dragon Heart Temple, the Ryūten-ji, the Dragon Heaven Temple, and the Ryūō-ji, the Dragon King Temple.

The priest stayed in the Dragon Sea Temple and spent the rest of his days reciting the Lotus Sūtra for the future life of the dragon. These temples still exist. Thus it was told.

13.34 ABOUT PRIEST DŌKŌ OF TENNŌJI WHO ASSISTED THE GUARDIAN OF TRAVELERS BY RECITING THE HOKEKYŌ

Long ago, a Priest Dōkō of Tennōji practiced the Buddhist Way by revering the Hokekyō. He often visited Kumano for his summer retreat,[1] and once returning to his temple, he took shelter for the night under a large tree near the beach at Minabe.

Late that night Dōkō heard twenty or thirty people ride up to the tree, and wondered, "Who are they?"

One of the riders called out, "Is the old man here?"

The surprised Dōkō asked himself, "Is there any one under the tree besides me?"

"Yes, I am here," Dōkō heard someone under the tree reply. Another voice from among the riders said, "Come quickly and act as our guide!"

The old man's voice made an excuse, "I can't. My horse has broken his legs so I cannot ride. I will see to him tomorrow, or get another horse. Since I am aged and weak, I cannot accompany you on foot." Dōkō heard the horsemen leave.

In the morning Dōkō was curious and searched under the tree. He found an old and broken male image of a *sae no kami*, the guardian of travelers, but no female one.[2] In front of the image was a votive tablet of a painted horse whose forelegs were damaged. The priest examined it, thinking, "So it was this guardian of travelers who spoke under the tree last night." Dōkō mended the broken part of the tablet with string, and left it there.

---

[1] *Ango*, a retreat observed during the three months of the rainy season in Japan, from April 16 to July 15.

Dōkō wished to learn more about the incident, and so he spent the day there and again sheltered himself under the tree that night. Just as on the previous occasion, he heard several riders approach the tree. The guardian of travelers mounted his horse, and they all rode away.

Toward the dawn the guardian of traveler returned to the tree, appeared as an old man in front of Dōkō, paid his respects by bowing to Dōkō and said, "You treated my horse's legs, and so, thanks to you, I was able to safely perform my duty. I will never forget your favor. I am the guardian of travelers in this area. Those riders were the deities of epidemics. Whenever they go around the country, they make me guide them. If I refuse, they will punish me, whipping me and abusing me with harsh words. It is really unbearable. I would like to leave this inferior form of the guardian deity and obtain a decent and virtuous state. I hope to attain my wish through your power."

Dōkō replied, "What you said is reasonable. But alas, helping you is beyond my power."

The guardian of travelers then said, "Stay and recite the Hokekyō under this tree for three days and nights. Through the efficacy of this sūtra, I will leave my suffering state and be reborn in a pleasant one." The guardian deity disappeared after saying this.

In accordance with this request, Dōkō recited the sūtra single-mindedly for three days and nights.

On the fourth day the guardian of travelers paid homage and bowed to him, saying, "Thanks to your merciful deed, I will be released from my mean status and obtain a noble one. Furthermore, I will be reborn in the world of Fudaraku[3], join those related to Kannon and be ranked as a bodhisattva. Listening to the recitation of the sūtra has had this mysterious effect. If you wish to know the truth, make a small boat out of tree branches, place my wooden statue in the boat, float it out to see, and you will see what happens." The guardian deity vanished.

---

[2] *Sae no kami* or *Dōsojin* were believed to expel evil spirits which caused disease, and to assist travelers in finding their way. *Dōsojin* are often represented by rocks in their natural form or male and female figures or organs; the old man in the story may have had a vulgar shape which he wished to lose. See Itō Kenkichi and Endō Hideo, eds., *Dōsojin no Furusato*, Yamato Shobo, 1972, p. 75.

[3] Fudaraku (=Sanskrit Potalaka), believed to be the land of Kannon and located south of the Indian Ocean.

Dōkō made and launched the boat as he was told. Although there was neither wind nor waves, the boat sped toward the south. Dōkō tearfully watched the boat disappear, paid his respects to it, and returned.

One night an old man of that district dreamed that the statue of the guardian of travelers had become a bodhisattva which radiated golden beams and ascended into the southern sky accompanied by the sound of ceremonial music.

Dōkō heard this story and fully believed it. He returned to his temple and recited the Hokekyō more devoutly. All those who heard the story from Dōkō felt greatly enobled. Thus it was told.

14.2 ABOUT THE GOVERNOR OF SHINANO PROVINCE WHO DELIVERED A RAT AND A SNAKE FROM THEIR SUFFERINGS BY COPYING THE HOKEKYŌ

Long ago during the reign of Emperor [lacuna]. a governor of Shinano Province, [lacuna], completed his duty in the province and went to the capital. During the journey he noticed that he was accompanied by a large snake. Then the governor stopped, the snake remained in the bush by the roadside. During the day the snake either preceded or followed him; at night it coiled under his clothes chest.

Seeing this, people told the governor, "This is most unusual. The snake should be killed."

The governor replied, "No, we should not kill it. There must be a reason for this," and he did not allow the people to kill the snake. The governor prayed silently, "Is this due to the deity of this province or to the evil inflicted by the spirit of someone living or dead? I have no idea about this. Even if my assumption is wrong, it is quite natural for a common man like me to be ignorant. Quickly reveal the reason in my dream."

That night the governor dreamed that a man in speckled hunting clothes[1] knelt before him and said, "I have been accompanying you to kill an old enemy of mine who has been hiding in your clothes chest. If I can have him, I will no longer follow you." The governor awoke and realized that the snake had said this.

After dawn broke, the governor told his attendants about his dream and had them open the clothes chest. The governor and his attendants looked inside the chest and found a frightened old rat who did not run away, even though he saw the people, but was crouching at the bottom of the chest.

---

[1] *Suikan*, a type of hunting outfit made of soft silk, is worn as everyday clothes.

The attendants said, "We should let him quickly go."

But the merciful governor thought, "Both the rat and the snake have been enemies since their former existences. If I drive the rat out now, he will surely be swallowed by the snake. I will perform a good deed and save both the rat and the snake."

The governor decided to remain at the place for a day, make a copy of the Hokekyō, and perform a dedicatory service. Several of his attendants cooperated and finished copying the sūtra within the day. An accompanying priest performed the dedicatory service as prescribed in the Law for the copied sūtra and for both the rat and the snake.

That night two handsome men, dressed in fine clothes, appeared to the governor in a dream and said to him respectfully, "We have been old enemies during successive lives and have killed each other for many generations. In this life, too, one of us wished to kill the other and has been chasing him. You mercifully made a copy of the Hokekyō within a day and offered a dedicatory service to deliver us. Thanks to the influence of your virtuous deed, we have now left our sinful state and are to be reborn in the Tōri Heaven.[2] For generations we will not be able to repay you for your great virtue." After they had said this, they ascended into the sky, which was filled with soft music, and the governor woke up.

After dawn broke, the people found that the snake was dead and the rat, too, was dead at the bottom of the chest. Seeing this, everybody was immensely overwhelmed. Truly the governor had a merciful heart. Surely he must have been a virtuous leader for generations. The efficacy of the Hokekyō was also marvellous.

This story was narrated here by someone who had head it in the capital. Thus it was told.

14.3 A WIDOW

Once an old priest and a young priest were travelling together to Kumano. When they arrived at Muro district of Kii province, they accepted shelter in a private home. The mistress of the house was a young widow who had a few maidservants. The widow was strongly attracted by the handsome young priest and cordially entertained the two travellers.

---

[2] Tōriten, the Trayastriṁśa Heaven of the Thirty-three Deities, is located on the summit of Mt. Sumeru.

Late that night, the mistress stealthily stepped into the priest's bedroom. She assured herself that the old priest was soundly asleep. Concerned over the rustling of her silk robes, the widow tiptoed to the young priest's bed. Raising the coverlet, she slipped into the bed and lay close to the young priest. "Please wake up," the widow whispered and shook the young priest. The young priest woke in surprise.

The widow put her mouth close to his ear and appealed to the trembling priest. "As you know, my place is only for women, and I have never allowed any man to stay here overnight. I broke the rule and let you stay here tonight because when I first glanced at you this afternoon, I firmly decided to take you as my new husband. Since you are travelling, you may leave me in the morning. There is no other time when I can realize my wish except tonight. So I have come here like this. Please don't think I am a shameless woman, but show mercy to a wretched widow."

No sooner had the priest heard her than he sat erect on the mattress. "I have had a lifelong conviction. While practicing the ways of an ascetic, I decided to take the long trip to the Kumano Shrine. If I break my vow and associate with you on the way to Kumano, the punishments that the gods and Buddhas will inflict on both of us will be formidable. Please quiet your desires and forget me," said the young priest in refusal.

The widow could not give him up so easily. She began to utilize all the means she knew and embraced the priest to tempt him. The widow's alluring efforts annoyed the young priest all through the night. Finally at his wits' end, the young priest had an inspiration and suggested, "I don't want to refuse you entirely. How about this? After visiting Kumano, we will return here in three days. Then I will comply with your wishes."

"Are you sure?" asked the widow. "Priests are never double-tongued," he firmly assured her! Content with his promise, the widow finally returned to her quarters. Early in the morning, the two priests left for Kumano.

Since then, the widow had been counting the days as she waited for the priests and prepared the proper feasts and entertainments. However, the priests, fearing the tenacity and desire of the widow, returned by a different route and avoided her house. The anxious widow went out on the road and asked each traveller about the two priests. When she saw a priest coming from Kumano, she asked if he had seen two priests, one old and the other young.

Funding by IKS-MoE

The priest answered, "Yes, I saw them leaving Kumano about three days ago."

"So he deceived me after all his firm promises!" thought the enraged widow, clapping her hands with chagrin and regret. She ran into her room and confined herself, closing the door. There was no sounds from her room. Soon the maidservants found their mistress had died from her anger. As the servants grieved over her death, an eighteen-foot-long poisonous snake emerged from the widow's room, left the house, and went down the highway from Kumano, raising its head high. The frightened travellers scattered before it.

The two priests who were travelling quite far ahead heard some people talking, "A strange thing happened. A great eighteen-foot-long snake is coming this way crossing the fields and mountains. It may arrive at any moment!" Hearing this, the two priests instantly realized their situation. "So the furious and chagrined widow has transformed herself into a snake and is chasing us."

The frightened pair of priests ran and ran till they came to a temple called Dōjōji. Desperately thinking, "There is no other way than to rely on Buddha's help," the two priests ran into the temple. Seeing the confused pair of priests, the temple priests asked, "What has happened?" Without taking a breath, the pair of priests begged, "Please help us!" and asked protection as they explained the situation. The priests of the Dōjōji gathered and decided to help them. After a consultation, they suggested that the large bell in the belfry be taken down and the young priest be placed inside the bell. They closed all the temple doors and hid the old priest in an inner room.

After a while, the great snake finally arrived at the temple. It leaped over the closed door and entered the temple compound. After circling the temple hall, the snake approached the belfry door behind which the bell hid the young priest. The snake hit the door with its powerful tail for about a hundred times until the door broke.

As it entered the belfry, it began to coil around the bell, tightened the coil into a firm grip and struck the dragon-shaped stem of the bell with its tail for a few hours.

Although frightened, the curious priests of the temple wished to know what was happening. They opened all the doors of the belfry. They saw the snake shedding bloody tears from both of its eyes. Now it uncoiled from the bell and returned the way it had come, raising its head high and flicking its flame-like tongue. The poisonous venom of the snake transformed the bell into molten flames. The confused priests did not know what to do at first, but finally cooled the bell by pouring cold water over it.

They removed the half-melted bell. Alas, the poor young priest had been cremated to death, leaving only a handful of ashes on the ground. Seeing this, the old priest who had been his companion left the temple in tears.

Sometime later, a senior priest of the Dōjōji dreamed that a larger snake than the one which had coiled around the bell appeared and said, "I am the young priest who died in the bell the other day. I was violated by that snake which was the transformation of the evil widow and was forced to become her husband. Now I have been given the miserable status of a snake with endless sufferings. Even though I wish to escape these sufferings, I do not have enough influence to do so. While alive, I did respect the Lotus Sūtra, yet my devotion to it is not enough. So I ask you, great holy man, to have mercy and to copy the Lotus Sūtra, to offer Buddhist services and to help both of us leave our snake status. Without the efficacy of the Lotus Sūtra, how could we be relieved from such sufferings?" As the snake finished, the senior priest awoke.

Carefully reflecting on his dream, the senior priest decided to save the snakes. He immediately began to copy the sūtra, and sold his properties and belongings. He invited many priests and offered devout Buddhist services for the repose of the souls of the two snakes.

Later the senior priest had a second dream that a smiling priest and a woman appeared in front of his bed and said, bowing and rejoicing, "Thanks to your merit accumulated by your pure heart, both of us have succeeding in leaving the status of snakes and have been reborn into the heavens; the priest into the Tōriten and the widow into the Tosotsuten " As they finished speaking, they ascended into the air separately.

Certainly the efficacy of the Lotus Sūtra was great and the pleased senior priest revered it more sincerely. All those who heard the story thought that everything must have resulted from the karma of their previous existences.

The evil widow conceived a lust for the young priest and the kind senior priest showed mercy for a pair of snakes. So it is said that since the tenacity and desire of a widow are so strong, the Law strictly prohibits one from approaching a widow who has carnal desires.

14.5 AN ESCAPADE

A young and handsome samurai once lived in the capital. One day when he was passing in front of the Suzaku Gate, he met a charming girl of seventeen or eighteen, dressed in layers of beautiful kimono. Seeing the lone girl standing helplessly by the gate, the young samurai was overwhelmed with pity and could not overlook her. He quickly approached the girl, took her hands and led her into the more secluded gateway.

The young samurai began to persuade her, "A certain fate has caused both of us to meet like this. I hope you feel towards me as I do towards you. Please listen to me and grant my wish. I am not going to think of you lightly."

"I don't mean to refuse and I would like to accept your wish. But if I do, I will lose my life," replied the girl.

In spite of her sincerity, the young samurai did not understand, but thought her words were an excuse. He continued to coax her.

The girl said tearfully, "You must have your wife and children at home. You are associating with me out of a whim. On the contrary, I would lose my life in exchange for our temporary relationship. This makes me very sad." The young samurai and the girl argued for a while, but the girl was finally persuaded.

As it became dark, the young samurai took her into a small hut near the gate to spend the night. Lying in bed, the young samurai swore that his feelings for the girl were eternal.

As dawn approached, the girl said, "Since I have associated with you, I shall certainly lose my life. Please copy the Lotus Sūtra and offer Buddhist services for my soul."

"What nonsense! It's a common custom in this life for a man and a woman to associate and share a bed like this. There should be no reason for one to lose his or her life only for this. But if you happen to lose your life for any other reason, I will surely copy the sūtra and offer Buddhist services for you," replied the young samurai.

"If you wish to learn whether I am really dead or not, go near the Butoku Palace in the morning. I would like to have your fan for a keepsake," the girl said tearfully. She accepted the samurai's fan and left. The young samurai still could not believe her and returned home.

In the morning, the young samurai became curious to know if what the girl said was true. He went toward the Butoku Palace. While visiting the palace, the samurai met an old white-haired woman who was weeping.

The young samurai asked, "Who are you and why are you crying so bitterly?"

Funding by IKS-MoE

"I am the mother of the girl whom you met by the Suzaku Gate last night. My daughter has already passed away and I have been waiting to tell you. She is lying there," said the old woman pointing to a certain spot in the corner of the palace and she disappeared.

Feeling it strange, the young samurai approached the spot and found a young vixen lying dead, her face covered by the fan which he had given the girl at their parting. "So the girl of last night was the transformation of this vixen. And I associated with a fox,"the young samurai thought and at first felt strange. But soon he was overwhelmed with pity for the fox.

After returning home, the young samurai completed a copy of the Lotus Sūtra and offered a Buddhist service on every seventh day after the death of the fox. Just before the forty-ninth day after the death of the fox, the young samurai dreamed that the girl appeared, dressed in the attire of a heavenly lady, and accompanied by hundreds of similarly dressed ladies.

She said to the young samurai, "Because you made copies of the sūtra and offered services, my past sins were lessened. I have left the status of a fox and have been reborn in the Tori Heaven. I will never forget your favor." As she finished, she quietly ascended to the sky. The young samurai thought he heard delicate music and awoke. He was very touched, became more pious, and continued to copy the sūtra.

It was the result of the noble acts of the young samurai who faithfully kept his promise and sincerely consoled the soul of the fox. People said that it certainly must have been the result of good karma from his previous existences.

14.7 AN ASCETIC PRIEST GOES TO TACHIYAMA OF ECCHŪ AND MEETS A YOUNG WOMAN

Long ago, people said that hell was in an extensive wild area in a valley of a mountain in Tachiyama of Ecchū Province. Steaming geysers constantly erupted from hundreds and thousands of apertures in an extensive wild area in one of the mountain valleys. Even boulders covering some of the openings were moved. People approaching were terrified by the heated air. A gigantic jet of fire burned incessantly in the inner part of the field by the huge Summit of Taishaku where Taishaku and his officials gathered to evaluate the good and bad deeds of sentient beings.

In the field of hell was the great Fall of Shōmyō, which was more than ten *jō* high and appeared like a stretched sheet of white cloth. Since ancient times, Japanese sinners were said to have fallen into this hell of Tachiyama.

Once a priest of the Mii Temple visited various sacred places while practicing his ascetic way. When the priest visited the field of hell in Tachiyama of Ecchu, he saw a woman in the nearby mountain who appeared younger than twenty years of age. "A woman on an isolated mountain like this! I wonder if she is a demon deity," thought the suspicious priest as he began to run away. The woman addressed him, "Please don't be frightened. I am not a demon deity. I have something to tell you."

The priest waited and the woman explained, "I used to live in the Gamō District of Ōmi Province. My parents still live there. My father is a sculptor and earns his living by carving Buddhist statues.

While I was alive, I used my father's money for my clothes and food. Due to this, after my death, I fell into a small hell of this place and have endured unbearable sufferings. Because of your mercy, please tell my parents to release me from my agony by copying the Lotus Sūtra and offering services for the sūtra. I have come here to request this."

The priest replied, "You say that you have fallen into hell and suffered. How could you leave voluntarily like this?"

The woman replied, "Today is the eighteenth of the month, the day associated with Kannon. While still alive, I thought of devoting myself to Kannon and wished to recite the sūtra of Kannon. Yet I postponed the matter, thinking, 'I will do it later.' Finally I died before I carried out my wish. However, I just once observed the precepts and thought about Kannon on the eighteenth of a certain month. On account of this deed, on the eighteenth of every month, Kannon has been appearing for a day and a night as I suffer in hell. During that time, I can leave hell and have relief. So I have come here like this." As she said this, the woman disappeared.

The priest thought this most extraordinary. He became frightened and left Tachiyama. To learn the truth, the priest visited the woman's parents in the Gamō district of Ōmi Province. The priest narrated everything without omitting a single word which the woman said.

Hearing the priest, the tearful parents grieved greatly. The priest left when he had finished his report. The parents immediately copied the Lotus Sūtra and offered a dedicatory service on behalf of their daughter.

Later, the father dreamed that his daughter, dressed in fine and elegant clothes, pressed her palms together and said, "Thanks to the power and assistance of Kannon, I have left the hell of Tachiyama and have been reborn in the Tori Heaven."

Funding by IKS-MoE

The parents were overjoyed. The priest had the same dream. He returned and told it to the parents. The father also told the priest his own identical dream. The overjoyed priest returned to his place and repeated this story which was transmitted by others to later generations. Thus it was told.

14.15 THE GRASSHOPPER

Long ago, Priest Kairen lived in Ecchu province. Kairen had learned the Lotus Sūtra in his youth and recited it constantly during the days and the nights.

Kairen had memorized twenty-five chapters of the sūtra including the introduction and the Kannon Chapter, but was unable to memorize the last three chapters. For years, Kairen failed to memorize these three chapters. His grief caused him to visit temples and shrines such as those in Tateyama and Hakusan. He prayed to the Buddhas and the gods, asking their marvellous aid. Yet Kairen could not memorize the final three chapters.

One night, Kairen dreamed that a bodhisattva said, "You are unable to memorize these three chapters because of an incident in your previous existence. You were a grasshopper in your former life. One day, you listened to a priest recite the Lotus Sūtra as you rested on the wall of his room. You listened well with no interruption, as he recited the first seven rolls of the sūtra.

As you heard the beginning of the eighth roll, the priest decided to bathe. Relaxed after his bath, he leaned on the wall where you were resting, and accidently crushed your head and killed you. As the grasshopper, you died instantly. Yet, due to the merit acquired by having heard the twenty-five chapters of the Lotus Sūtra, you ended your existence as an insect and were reborn as a human being. You became a priest and are still reciting the sūtra. Since you failed to hear the last three chapters because of your unfortunate accident, you can not learn them no matter how hard you try. Now that you have discovered the cause in your previous life, you shall make a further effort in reciting the sūtra and pray for your future deliverance."

Kairen awoke as the bodhisattva finished. Afterwards, Kairen continued to devote himself to the recitation of the sūtra. He was said to have attained enlightenment in the fifth year of Tenroku after long practice of the Way.

16.4 THE RESTORED KANNON

Long ago, there was a mountain temple called Nariai, meaning

Funding by IKS-MoE

"restored," in Tango province. The temple's peculiar name resulted from this unusual story.

A poor ascetic had confined himself in this temple in the middle of a cold winter. The temple was on the summit of a high mountain which was covered with the deepest snow in the country. The pines shrieked under the blast of the wild wind. A blizzard covered the path which not a single soul would travel.

The ascetic's rations were exhausted. The village was too distant for him to seek food through such deep snow. No berries or grasses were available on the snow-covered mountain. The ascetic endured ten days without food but finally had no strength even to rise and merely lay on a broken straw cloak spread on the floor of the temple hall.

He had neither the energy to gather firewood to build a fire, nor the spirit to concentrate on reciting the sūtras. The cold wind blew into the hall through the cracks of the sliding doors and frightened the ascetic who was just waiting for death by starvation and had no hope of acquiring food.

As a last hope, the ascetic decided to appeal to the image of Kannon in the hall. He prayed, "Oh merciful Kannon, I have heard that you grant the wishes of your devotees if they utter your name only once. For months and years, I have been devoted to you and now I am starving to death. What a pity this is! High official rank or plentiful treasure may be difficult to grant, but my only wish is for a little food to prolong my life by one day. Please give me food!"

While addressing Kannon, the ascetic glanced outside through the cracks of the sliding doors at the northwest corner of the hall. He saw something black lying in the snow. He went outside and found the carcass of a boar which had been attacked by a wolf. "This must be the Kannon's gift," thought the overjoyed ascetic.

At the next moment, his conscience deterred him. He thought, "No, no. How could I commit the sin of eating flesh after all these years of devotion to the Way. I have been taught that eating meat would prevent me from becoming a Buddha and would send me to hell. This is why animals flee when seeing human beings and why Buddhas and bodhisattvas avoid those who eat flesh. I should stay away from this animal. I was about to commit a grievous sin!" Yet his hunger and desire for food increased after having seen the boar.

Finally his strong desire overcame his lifelong conviction. The ascetic took a knife, cut flesh from the boar's leg, cooked the meat in a pan and

Funding by IKS-MoE

devoured it. Oh, how good he felt. Of all the food that he had ever eaten, nothing had tasted as delicious as this boar meat. The ascetic was overwhelmed with satisfaction, especially after days of starvation. But alas! Although he felt comfortable, his conscience began to reproach him. Feeling guilty of a most grievous sin, he burst into tears.

After a time, the snow ceased. The ascetic heard the voices of people approaching the temple hall. "I wonder what has happened to the ascetic who lived in this temple." "He has remained here for days. His food must have been exhausted."

When the ascetic heard the villagers' discussion, he became very confused. He thought, "I will be most embarrassed if they see the remainder of the boar meat in the pan. I must hide it. But where?"

Soon the villagers arrived at the front of the hall and entered. They were all surprised and relieved to see the ascetic still alive. "It's wonderful that you are all right. How did you manage to survive during these cold days?"

The villagers looked about within the hall. They saw the pan which contained some pieces of wood as if they were the remains of a meal. "Is this what he has been eating?" How pitiful!" thought the villagers. They happened to look at the wooden statue of Kannon by the pan. Lo and behold! The thighs of the statue were deeply chipped! "Did the ascetic chip off part of the thighs of this statue and eat them?" the villagers asked one another. They said to the ascetic, "If you had wanted to eat wood, you should have chipped at the pillars of the hall, not at the precious and most important statue of this temple!"

Hearing this, the shocked ascetic looked at the statue of Kannon and saw that the statue's thighs were certainly damaged. "So the boar that I ate was the incarnation of the Kannon who pitied me and whose great mercy aided me. How gracious!" said the ascetic and was overwhelmed by his tears. The villagers who heard the entire story were also moved to tears.

After narrating his story, the ascetic faced the Kannon statue and prayed sincerely, "If this was truly your revelation, please restore your thighs!" Miraculously, the thighs of the statue were instantly restored in the presence of the ascetic and the villagers. They were again moved to tears. The statue became called Nariai Kannon, the Restored Kannon.

It is said that those wishing to revere the Nariai Kannon should visit the temple where the statue still exists.

16.5 THE BLACK HORSE AND THE IMAGE OF KANNON

(This story is from the *Konjaku monogatari*, vol. 16:5).

The chief official of the Kuwatano district of Tanba province had long considered commissioning an image of Kannon. He went to the capital, hired a Buddhist sculptor, paid him and asked him to make the image. The sculptor accepted the money and the pleased official returned home. The sculptor was a devout Buddhist. He had known the Kannon chapter of the *Hokekyō* since his youth, and daily recited the thirty-three rolls of the sutra without fail. He earnestly pledged himself to Kannon by fasting on the afternoon of the eighteenth day of each month.

The sculptor completed a beautiful image of Kannon earlier than expected, only three months after receiving the commission. The sculptor took the image to the official. It was quite common for sculptors to take longer than contracted, although the fee for the agreed date of completion would be paid.

In contrast to the usual situation, this image had been completed earlier than promised and was also more beautiful than the official had imagined. He was particularly pleased and wished to greatly reward the sculptor. However, the official was quite poor. He had only a black horse, five or six years old, and about four feet and eight inches high, to offer. The horse had strong legs and was never frightened or tired. Many people had wanted and offered to buy this horse, which the official kept as a valued possession.

The official was so impressed with this sculptor's work that he gave him the horse from the stable. The overjoyed sculptor saddled and rode the horse from the official's place towards the capital. His servant accompanied him, leading his old horse.

When the official visited the vacant stable and saw the grass left uneaten by the horse, he felt very sad and missed the horse which he had cherished so long. The more he reflected, the more he regretted having given the horse to the sculptor so easily.

Finally he became so irritable that he could not control his frustration. He told one of his close attendants, "I gave that horse to the sculptor as a reward for his virtuous work. But I cannot help regretting it. Pretend to be a thief and recover him at any cost, even if you have to shoot the sculptor to death!" "It is an easy task," said the attendant, and rode off with his bow and arrows.

The sculptor was travelling on the highway. The attendant took a bypass, got ahead of the sculptor, and waited for him in a grove of chestnut trees at a place called Shinomura. The sculptor soon approached the grove. For a moment, the attendant hesitated, thinking the deed repugnant. Then he thought of his master's earnest request and reconsidered. He fitted an arrow to his bow and swiftly galloped towards the sculptor.

The attendant drew the bowstring as far back as he could, and released the arrow at the very front of the sculptor from a distance of forty to fifty feet. How could an arrow let fly at such a short distance miss the target? The arrow certainly penetrated the sculptor's torso and the arrowhead stuck out from his back.

The sculptor instantly fell backwards from the horse. The attendant chased the riderless horse, caught him, and brought him to his master. The official rejoiced at the sight of his horse and cherished him as before.

Days passed after the event, but there was no contact from the family of the sculptor. Wondering, the official sent the same official to investigate the sculptor's family. The official instructed the attendant to extend his greetings, saying, "We have not heard from you for a long time and wish to know how you are."

The attendant arrived at the sculptor's house in the capital. A front yard separated the gate from the house. In this yard, the astonished attendant saw the horse tied to a plum tree and eating grass while watched by two men and the sculptor sitting on the veranda. The attendant was appalled at the sight. Imagine both the sculptor whom he had shot to death and the horse which he had recovered in front of him!

For a moment, the attendant thought he might be mistaken. But no, the sculptor was surely alive and the horse was the same one that belonged to his master. Though frightened at the strange sight, the attendant went up to the sculptor and delivered the greeting as he had been instructed. The sculptor said, "Thank your master. I have been very well, as you see, and many people want to buy this horse. But it is such a splendid horse that I am keeping him for myself!

Still puzzled, the attendant hurried home to report to his master. The official, too, felt very strange when he received the report. He quickly went to his stable, only to find the horse missing. The frightened official hurried to the image of Kannon to repent for his sinful deed.

When he looked at the image, lo, an arrow had struck deeply into the torso of the image, releasing a stream of blood. The official immediately called his attendant and showed him the image. Both of them lay with their faces to the ground and cried aloud in repentance.

On that spot, the two men cut off their hair, entered the Buddhahood, and left to go to a mountain temple to practice the Way. The wound on the image had not yet closed and many people came to pay homage to the image. Due to the deep faith of the sculptor, Kannon had received the arrow for him. As the vow of Kannon promised, this was noble and gracious indeed! People said anyone of firm faith should come and pay homage to this image of Kannon.

16.6 ABOUT A HAWK CATCHER OF MUTSU PROVINCE WHO PROLONGED HIS LIFE BY THE ASSISTANCE OF KANNON

Long ago, a man made his living by catching and selling young hawks. The hawker watched the place where a female hawk made her nests and took her nestlings for a number of years.

The mother hawk must have been concerned about her new nest. Instead of making a nest at the usual place, she began to search for a good location in a remote area where no man had ever been. She found a high steep cliff like a standing screen, below which she saw nothing but a bottomless rough sea. She flew to a tree which was growing from a fissure in the middle of the steep cliff and made her nest near the tip of a branch which projected over the sea. She laid her eggs where there was truly no way to approach.

When the right season arrived, the hawker looked for the young hawks in the usual place. However, this year, he found no nest there. The lamenting man searched vainly in other places as he thought, "The mother hawk may have died or she may have made her nest elsewhere." For days the hawker searched from summit to summit and from mountain to mountain.

One day he finally saw the nest in a distant place. The joyful hawker approached the cliff, but learned that the nest was unreachable. The cliff was too steep for his descent and the sea was too rough for him to climb up the cliff from below.

Although he found the nest, reaching it was certainly beyond his powers. He went home lamenting the loss of his livelihood.

He went to his neighbour and told him, "For years I have been making a living by catching and selling young hawks to those who needed them in this province. Since the hawk has made her nest at such a place this year, I have no way of catching the young hawks."

The neighbour suggested, "If you make a plan, you should be able to

Funding by IKS-MoE

catch them." They went to the cliff together. Then the neighbour saw the situation, he instructed the hawker, "We should drive a stake at the edge of the cliff, tie several hundred *hiro*[1] of rope to it, and attach a basket to the end of the rope. You will climb into the basket which I will lower to the nest so you can catch the hawks."

Hearing this, the joyful hawker went home, prepared a rope, a basket, and a stake, and returned to the cliff with his neighbour. As they planned, they drove a stake at the edge of the cliff, tied the rope to it, and attached a basket and had his neighbour slowly lower him until he reached the nest. He got out of the basket, approached the nest, took out the young hawks, tied up their wings, put them into the basket, and sent them up. He himself remained by the nest.

The neighbour pulled up the basket and removed the young hawks, but did not lower it again for the bird catcher. He left the spot, immediately went to the hawk catcher's house and reported to the wife and children, "While your husband was riding in the basket down the cliff to the hawk's nest, the rope broke and he fell to his death in the sea." The wife and children of the hawk catcher lamented greatly, shedding many tears.

The hawk catcher remained by the nest and waited vainly for the basket. Several days and nights passed, but the basket was not lowered. The hollow in the side of the cliff where he stayed was so narrow that if he moved even a little, he might fall into the sea. While waiting for his last moment, he began to reflect on the sins of his past life.

On the eighteenth day of every month he had been observing the ascetic way, including the recitation of the eighth chapter of the Hokekyō. During his present suffering he thought only of Kannon and earnestly desired salvation.

"For years I have tied up the wings of young hawks which I caught and never released. My approaching death is in retribution for these sinful deeds. My present existence is ending futilely. O great merciful Kannon, help me not to fall into the lower realms in my future existence, but deliver me to the Pure Land."

Suddenly a huge poisonous serpent with eyes as large as metal bowls and a flickering tongue emerged from the sea and climbed the cliff. The hawker thought, "I would rather die by falling into the sea than by this serpent swallowing me." Just as the serpent was about to swallow him, the hawker took out his knife and stabbed it in the head.

---

[1] One *hiro* was about eight feet.

The serpent was startled and began to glide up the cliff; the man climbed onto its back and thus reached the top of the cliff. As soon as he arrived there, the serpent disappeared. The man now realized that Kannon had assisted him by transforming herself into the serpent. He tearfully paid homage to Kannon and headed toward his home.

The hawker had not eaten for days. Hungry and exhausted, he was barely able to walk home. On returning, he learned that seven days had passed. The closed gate had a sign indicating abstinence on an occasion of mourning. He knocked at the door. When he opened the door and entered the house, his wife and children wiped their tears and greatly rejoiced. Later the man told them everything in detail.

On the eighteenth of that month the hawk catcher, after performing purification rites, opened the box containing his copy of the Hokekyō in order to recite the chapter about Kannon, and saw a knife sticking into the sūtra. It was the same knife that he had used to stab the serpent's head.

It was clear that the roll of the sūtra telling of Kannon had become a serpent and had saved him. Overwhelmed with joy, the hawk catcher became more pious and finally cut off his hair and became a priest. He became devoted to ascetic practices and eradicated his evil thoughts for ever.

All those who heard of him, including his distant acquaintances, were immensely overwhelmed with noble feelings. How ashamed the neighbour must have felt! Yet the former hawk catcher did not hold grudge against his neighbour.

The marvellous efficacy of Kannon was thus revealed. The people of the world should hear this story and heartily devote themselves to Kannon. Thus it was told.

16.15 THE DRAGON PALACE

Long ago, a poor young samurai living in the capital worshipped Kannon on the eighteenth day of every month. He also prayed to the Buddhas at other temples on the same day.

On the eighteenth day of the ninth month of a certain year, the samurai was walking south of Yamashina after visiting the temples as usual. He met a man of about fifty carrying a stick on the end of which a one-foot-long snake hung, still moving.

As the man passed, the samurai asked, "Where are you going?" "I am travelling to the capital. And you?" inquired the man. "I am returning from visiting various temples. What will you do with the snake?" asked the samurai. "I caught it because I need it," replied the man. "Would you please let me have it? Taking life is a sin, especially today, the eighteenth of the month, the day of Kannon. Please release it," said the samurai. "Indeed. Though Kannon must be revered, I must support myself, too. If I release this snake, I can not make my living. Killing is unavoidable for me," the man said in refusal. "For what purpose will you use the snake?" the samurai again inquired. "I make articles called *nyoi* for Buddhist services and use the snake oil to polish them," replied the man. The samurai made a proposition, "I see. I am not going to ask you to give me the snake for nothing. Will you exchange it for my quilted robe?" The man agreed and accepted the cotton robe. "Where did you find this snake?" asked the samurai just before the man left him, "By the pool over there," answered the man and went away.

The samurai went to the pool and released the snake into the water. Content with his good deed, the samurai continued towards a temple. After walking for several rods, he met a beautiful and well-dressed girl of about twelve or thirteen years. "How strange for a young girl to travel alone in such a remote place," thought the suspicious samurai. The girl spoke, "I have been waiting for you since I want to express my gratitude." "What do you mean?" asked the confused samurai.

She continued, "When I told my parents how you saved my life, they insisted that I invite you to our place. So I came here to take you there." The samurai realized that the snake he had saved had transformed itself into this beautiful girl. He was touched by her feelings but still felt it strange.

"Where do you and your parents live?" asked the samurai, "Over there. I'll take you," said the girl. She led him to the same pool where he had released the snake. "Don't be afraid. We will never harm you," said the girl as she noticed that the samurai felt uneasy and wished to run away.

On arriving at the pool, the girl said, "Please wait a moment. I'll report to my parents that you are here. I'll soon return." She disappeared instantly. Standing by the pool, the samurai's anxiety increased. At the next moment, the girl reappeared and said. "Now I will take you to our place. Please close your eyes for a while."

The samurai closed his eyes for a short time. He heard the girl say, "Please open your eyes." The samurai opened his eyes as if he had awakened from a dream. He was standing before a splendid gate which appeared more magnificent than any Japanese castle gates that he had ever seen. "Wait here," said the girl and entered the gate. In a few seconds, the girl came out of the gate and told him to follow her.

As the samurai followed, he saw on his right and left rows of many gorgeous buildings like palaces. All were decorated with seven kinds of precious jewels and sparkled with a dazzling radiance. They went further inside the compound and finally arrived at the main building. The jewels of its floors and screens released seven kinds of luminescence. The samurai felt that even a paradise could not match the beauty of this place.

Soon a stately old man of sixty appeared. He had a long white beard and was dressed in beautiful clothes. The old man said to the samurai, "Welcome. Please come further this way. I have a good reason to invite you here. Feel free and make yourself comfortable." As the samurai advanced into the main building, the old man continued, "I don't know how to show my gratitude. Perhaps you know how parents are concerned about their children. Of my many children, I love best my youngest daughter whom you saw a few minutes ago. This afternoon, she was playing by the pool as I had strictly prohibited since people always pass nearby. My little one was too spoiled to listen to my warning and was caught by a man. If it hadn't been for you, she would have lost her life. When I heard the story from my little one, I thought it was certainly necessary to show you my gratitude." "So this old man is the father of the little snake," thought the samurai.

When the old man clapped his hands, beautiful attendants appeared and knelt before him. "Entertain my guest!" he ordered the attendants. Immediately numbers of dishes with delicacies from the mountains and seas were placed successively before the samurai. The old man urged the samurai to begin eating. Though still suspicious about everything, the samurai tried the feast. The food tasted so delicious that he felt as if his tongue would melt in his mouth.

When the meal was finished and the attendants began to remove the dishes, the old man said to the samurai, "I am the Dragon King and have been living here a long time. I wish I could give you my precious ball. But I have heard that the people in your country have wicked minds and I am afraid that you wouldn't be able to carry it safely. So I will give you something else." "Bring that box," the old man ordered an attendant. A lacquered box was brought before the old man, who removed the lid and took out a three-inch-thick cake of gold. He broke it into two pieces, returning one to the box and

Funding by IKS-MoE

giving the other to the samurai. He said, "I am giving you this. Don't use it all at once. If you break it into small pieces and use it little by little for your needs, you will never lack money for the rest of your life."

The samurai graciously accepted the gift and told the old man good-bye. The girl reappeared, led him to the gate and asked him to close his eyes again. When he opened them a moment later, he and the girl were standing by the pool once more. The girl said, "I am now leaving you. Please take care of yourself. I will never forget what you have done for me." As soon as she had said this, the girl disappeared.

When the samurai arrived at his home, everybody was surprised to see him, asking, "What on earth happened to you. Where have you been all these years?" The samurai, too, was surprised to realize that days and months had passed since he went to the Dragon Palace where he thought he had spent only one afternoon. But the samurai said nothing about his adventures.

He secretly used the pieces of gold as he needed them, and soon became increasingly rich. No matter how much he broke and chipped from the cake of gold, it was restored immediately to its original size. The samurai was a wealthy man for the rest of his life. He was devoted to Kannon everafter. When he died, the cake of gold disappeared and his descendants got no benefit from it.

Due to his sincere faith in Kannon, the samurai was able to visit the Dragon Palace and become wealthy. Nobody knew when it happened, but this story has been told for generations.

16.16 THE SNAKE AND THE PROTECTION OF KANNON

(This story is in the *Konjaku monogatari*, vol. 16.16)

Long ago, a girl lived in the Kusano district of Yamashiro province. Since the age of seven, she had known the Kannon chapter of the *Hokekyō* sutra and had always observed its precepts and the vegetarian practices of the eighteenth day of every month. When she became twelve, she already had finished learning the *Hokekyō*. Though still young, the girl had a benevolent heart with deep feeling for others and had no evil in her mind.

The girl once went out to play and saw a man holding a bound crab. The girl asked, "Why are you carrying the crab?" The man answered, "I am taking it home to eat." The girl said, "Give me the crab. If you need food, I have several fish at home. You can have fish instead of the crab." The man accepted the girl's suggestion and gave her the crab. The girl released the crab in the river.

Some time later, the aged father of the girl was cultivating his field. He saw a poisonous snake swallowing a frog. Pitying the frog, the father promised, "Spare that frog and I will make you my son-in-law." The father had spoken hastily without reflecting. Hearing him, the snake stared into his face, released the frog, and crawled into the nearby bushes.

The aged father went home thinking, I spoke thoughtlessly. Disturbed, he kept silent and could not eat. His wife and daughter asked, "Why aren't you eating and why do you look so worried?" The father explained what had happened. "I spoke hastily and carelessly. Now I am very worried." The daughter said, "Please don't worry; finish your meal." The aged father was somewhat relieved and finished his meal.

At the hour of the boar (about ten o'clock) that night, someone knocked at the door. The father thought that the snake had finally come and told his daughter. The daughter said, "Please tell him to return three days from now."

The father opened the door and saw a man standing there dressed as a nobleman. He said, "I am here as we agreed this morning." "Please return three days from now," said the father, and the man left.

Later, the daughter had a temporary storehouse built of thick boards. Towards the evening of the third day, the daughter went into the storehouse, closed the door, and instructed her father, "Tonight, when the snake comes and knocks at the door, open it quickly. I will rely entirely on the protection of Kannon," and the girl remained in the storehouse.

When night fell, the man dressed as a nobleman came and knocked at the door which was immediately opened. The man looked at the storehouse which contained the girl and became enraged. As his anger grew, he revealed his original snake form, coiled around the storehouse and struck the storehouse door with his tail. Hearing this, the parents were terror stricken. About midnight, the blows ceased and a cry of the snake was heard. After a while, the cry also stopped.

As day dawned, they went out to see the storehouse. Look! In front of the storehouse, a large crab accompanied by several thousand other crabs had killed the snake by cutting it to pieces. The crabs all crawled away as they heard the people coming.

Now the daughter opened the door of the storehouse and said to her father, "I have been reciting the Kannon chapter all night long. A handsome priest appeared and told me not to be afraid, but especially to recite and rely on the passage which says, 'The venom of snakes and of poisonous insects will be dissipated by firm faith in the power of Kannon.' So I did as recommended and dispelled dangers with the protection of Kannon." The parents were relieved to hear this.

Afterwards, the daughter buried the snake and built a temple on the spot to release the snake's soul from suffering and to atone for the sin of taking life which the numerous crabs had committed. A Buddhist image and copies of the sūtra were made and Buddhist services were held at the temple. The temple was called the Kanimatadera and still exists today. The tone has been softened so that it is now called the Kanihatadera, but the people do not know this story.

When these happenings are considered, it is clear that the daughter was an unusual person. People said that the efficacy of Kannon was most miraculous.

16.21 A WOMAN WHO GOES TO KYUSHU AND ESCAPES FROM ROBBERS WITH KANNON'S ASSISTANCE

Long ago, a man of [lacuna] Province in Kyushu went to the capital on business and stayed there for months. Seeing him with no help in his household, a maidservant of his next-door neighbour introduced a good-looking young woman who had served in the court.

As time went on, the man became more and more attached to the young woman. When about to return to his province, he asked the woman to come with him. The woman, who had neither relatives nor acquaintances on whom to rely in the capital, had been thinking of joining the man, if she were invited. When the man made his proposal, she gladly accepted and started off with him. The pleased maidservant next door said, "My introduction was worthwhile."

The man returned to his province accompanied by the woman as his wife. They spent a few comfortable years there, since the man originally had means to live as he liked.

After some time, the woman gradually learned that robbery was her man's main occupation, in spite of his trying to hide everything from her. Even though the woman worried, "Something terrible might happen to me while staying in a strange place," she spent some more days pretending she knew nothing because of her attachment to him. On some occasions she thought of admonishing her man, but at other times became afraid of his ferocity and changed her mind.

However, one day the woman decided to warn her man. While lying quietly beside him and intimately talking about various matters such as their future, she said, "I have something to tell you. Will you listen to me?"

"The man replied, "Whatever it may be, how could I not listen? Even at the cost of my life, I will hear you. And if it's something less important, still why not listen?"

The woman was very pleased and confided, "I have seen you act suspiciously during the past years. Will you please end such behaviour?"

As the man heard her, his countenance changed and he became silent. The woman became regretful, and thought, "I need not have said that!" But it was too late for her to take back her statement, and she also remained silent. Since that time, the man's attitude towards her had changed and he never approached her.

The woman lamented, "Surely I will be killed because of my unnecessary remarks." The woman had been reciting the sūtra of Kannon daily, and she sincerely prayed, "Please help me, merciful Kannon."

Four or five days later, the man said to her, "I am going to bathe in the vicinity. Come with me!" Although the woman was afraid and thought, "I will be killed today," she had no recourse other than to accompany him.

The man had the woman mount a horse. He also rode a horse, and carried a quiver on his back. They started at about four or five o'clock in the afternoon, taking two servants.

The woman tearfully grieved over her approaching death. Without looking at the road ahead, she prayed single-mindedly to Kannon, "My life is about to end. Please help me in my next life."

Soon the party saw a mountain on one side and a pond-like marsh on the other. As they took the narrow path by the marsh, the woman made a request of the man, "I need to go to the toilet now. Let me get down." "Help her down," said the man sulkily and his attendants came near the woman and assisted her to dismount.

The woman went down to the marsh and pretended that she was going to take some time. She said to the attendants standing nearby, "You should not remain so close. Stay away from me!" So the attendants and the man waited by the horses, standing at a distance of about two *tan* from her.

"I would much rather throw myself into this marsh than be killed by

Funding by IKS-MoE

them," thought the woman. She removed her clothes and placed her travelling straw hat over them so that she appeared to be crouching under the hat in the bushes. Quite unnoticed, the woman stealthily stepped into the water.

The marsh was deep, muddy, and covered by profuse weeds. The woman dived into the water and crawled further, fearing that she might drown. As she was crawling at the bottom of the water and praying to Kannon, the woman heard the man's voices saying, "How long she takes! Get her mounted quickly!"

Since there was no reply from the woman, the man shot an arrow at the hat. There was no sound from her and the arrow seemed to have hit something hollow. "Strange, go quickly and see!" said the man to his attendants.

The attendants went down to the marsh, saw no woman and yelled, "She has gone!" The dismounted man also hurried to the spot and found nothing but the woman's hat and clothes. The surprised man first searched vainly in the direction of the mountain. Now the man and his servants were sure that the woman had escaped through the water.

Meanwhile the sun set and darkness soon fell. The man was distressed, and scratched his head with chagrin, but had no recourse other than to return home.

The woman had crawled all night for a considerable distance, and finally reached a shallow place just before dawn. She vaguely saw a village beyond the shore. The overjoyed woman crawled up the shore, and washed her muddy body. The third month was still quite cold. The shivering woman thought of looking for someone's house.

As dawn whitened the sky, an old man leaning on a stick came by, saw the woman, and asked, "Who are you and what are you doing here without clothes like this?"

"I was robbed. What shall I do?" asked the woman.

"How pitiful! Come with me," said the old man. The old man took the woman and said to his old wife, "Look here! I have brought this woman."

The merciful old wife pitied her, dressed her in a simple lined *kimono*, and brought her by the fire in the inner part of the house.

The woman felt revived when lying down. After resting and eating for a few days, the woman appeared truly beautiful. She had come a long way from her native place [lacuna].

Funding by IKS-MoE

A young man, the son of the governor of the province [lacuna], was not yet married. One day the daughter of the old couple, who was in service of the governor, came home and saw the woman. The daughter and the woman became acquainted during these days. After the daughter returned to the governor's mansion, she mentioned the woman. On hearing the daughter's story, the governor's son went to the old couple's house and met the woman. He found her truly good-looking with nothing unsightly or indecent about her, although she was humbly dressed. Even if he came nearby and tried to touch her, she showed no sign of avoiding him. He already felt very close to her. Later the governor's son dressed her in proper garments and took her to his mansion.

As the days passed, the woman tearfully told the governor's son everything that had happened to her. The governor's son thought it most extraordinary and said to his father, the governor, without mentioning the woman, "A certain man in a certain province has committed robberies during past years. He took a woman from the capital and plotted to kill her, but she escaped safely. You should quickly catch the man!"

The governor immediately sent his messengers with the report to the governor of that province. Since the man was already notorious there, he was immediately caught after the accusation and sent with an escort to the first governor. At the beginning of the investigation, the man was obdurate. Finally he confessed everything under torture.

The woman who watched the painful interrogation from behind the screen greatly pitied her former man. Yet he was convicted as a robber and was beheaded in an open field.

The woman lived in the capital for a long time as the wife of the governor's son. This was solely due to the assistance of Kannon, whom the woman served more and more devoutly.

The woman later said that a sincere person would be blessed by Buddha in such a way. Thus it was told.

Funding by IKS-MoE

下鎮西女、依觀音助遁賊難持命語第廿一

今昔、鎮西ノ□國ニ住ケル人、京ニ上テ、要事有ケレバ京ニ月来有ケルニ、便无カリケリ。宮仕ル女ノ年若ク形チ美麗也ケル、宿タル家ノ隣ニ有ケル下女合セテケリ。

其ノ後、男、此ノ女ヲ難去ク思テ過ルニ、男、本國ヘ可返キ時ニ成テ、此ノ女ヲ具シテ行ムト云ケレバ、女、京ニ相憑ム人モ无ク、知タル人モ无ケレバ、「倡フ水有ラバ」ト思ヒ渡ルニ、男ノ此ク云ケレバ、出立ケリ。隣ノ女モ、申シ傳タリ甲斐有ケレトテ喜ビケリ。此クテ、既ニ此ノ妻ヲ具シテ本國ニ下ヌ。男、本ニ便有ケレバ、思フ様ニテ有ル程ニ、二三年ニ成ヌ。

而ル間、男、隠スト為レドモ、盗ヲ役トシケルヲ、漸ク其ノ氣色ヲ知ヌ。「旅ノ空ニテ怖シキ事ヤ出来ムズラム」ト思ヘドモ、我ヲ難去ク思タレバ、不知ヌ様ニテ過グルニ、「此ノ事ヲ制セバヤ」ト思フニ、亦、此ク猛キ者ナレバ、怖シクテ不云ズ。尚、「制シテム」ト思テ、静也ケル時、二人臥シテ、万ヅ語ヒ行末ノ事ヲ

契ケル次ニ、妻ノ云ク、「我レ、君ニ云ハムト思フ事有リ。聞トスヤ」ト。男ノ云ク、「何事也トモ、何ゾ不聞ザラム。譬ヒ、命ヲ失フ事也トモ、可辞キニ非ズ。況ヤ、餘ノ事ハ」ト。女、喜ト思テ云ク、「年来、佐キ事ヲ見ル。其レ、止メ給ヒテムヤ」ト。男、此レヲ聞テ、氣色替テ物ヲ不云デ止ヌ。女、「由无キ事ヲモ云テケルカナ」ト悔ク思ヘドモ、可取返キ事ナラネバ、亦云フ事无シ。其ノ後、男、氣色替テ、妻ノ邊ニモ不近付ズ。妻、「由无キ事ヲ云テ、我レ、必ズ被殺ナム」ト歎ケル、本ヨリ觀音品ヲ毎日ニ讀奉ケレバ、「觀音、助ケ給ヘ」ト心ノ内ニゾ念ジケル。

而ル間、四五日許有テ、男、妻ニ云ク、「今日、此近キ所ニ行テ湯浴ニ去来給ヘ」ト云ヘバ、女、「今日、我レヲ殺サムズルニコソ有ケレ」ト心得タリト云ヘドモ、可遁キ方无ケレバ、具シテ行ムト。妻ヲ馬ニ乗セテ、我モ馬ニ乗テ、胡録掻負テ、従者二人許具シテ、申酉ノ時許ニ出立テ行ク。妻、涙ヲ流シテ、死ナム事ヲ悲テ、更ニ道モ不見ネドモ、只、心ノ内ニ觀音ヲ念ジ奉テ、「此ノ世ハ此テ止ナムト、後生助ケ給ヘ」トゾ申シケル。

此クテ行ク程ニ、片邊ハ山ニテ、今片邊ハ、沼ト云バ池ノ様ナル澤立タル所也ケル、細キ道ヲ行ケルニ、妻、男ニ云ク、「只今、糸破无キ事ナム有ル。馬ヨリ暫ク下ム」ト。男、氣悪氣ニテ、「然バ、其レ下セ」ト云ヘバ、従者、寄来テ抱テ下シツレバ、澤邊ニ下リテ、遠キ事ヲ為ル様ニテ居タリ。抱キ下シツル男ノ近ク立ルヲ、女ノ、「此ク有ル所ニハ近クハ无キ事ゾ。去ケ」ト云ケレバ、主ノ男モ二段許ヲ去キテ、馬ヲ引ヘテ立ルニ、妻、「我レ、被殺ヨリハ此ノ沼ニ入テ身ヲ投テム」ト思テ、着タリケル衣共ヲ脱ギテ、其ノ上ニ市女笠ヲ置テ、居タル様ニテ、我レハ裸ニテ窃ニ沼ニ這入ヌル。此等、露不知ズ。

此ノ沼ノ上ハ泥ノ所ノ、菰ト云フ者生ヒ滋リテ、底ハ遥ニ深カリケリ。落入ニケル、息ト思ノ外ヘ、只這ニ這ヒケル。「今ハ死ナムトスラム」ト思テ、観音ヲ念ジ奉テ、何コトモ無ク這ヘバ、底ヲ這テ行ク。水ノ下ニテ聞ケバ、遠ラカニ男ノ音ニテ荒ラカニ、「何ド久クハ有ルゾ。早ク乗レ」ト云ケル。女ノ音ヲ不為ネバ、蟇箭ヲ以テ射ケレバ、笠ノ上ヲ射ツル。下ニ音モ無ク、箭ノ風モ不答ズ、空ナレバ、男、「怪シ。其レ見ヨ」ト従者ニ云フニ、従者寄テ見ルニ、人無ケレバ、「不御ズ」ト云ヘバ、主、馬ヨリ下テ見ルニ、衣ト笠トハ有テ、主ハ無シ。驚テ、先ヅ、山ノ方ヲ追求ムルニ無シ。「沼ニ入ヌラム」ト不疑ズ。而ル間、日暮レ暗ク成ヌレバ、男、頭ヲ掻テ妬ガルト云ヘドモ、可為キ方無クテ、家ヘ返ヌ。

女ハ遥ニ息ニ這出テ、終夜這テ、暁ニ成テ、少シ浅キ所ニ這出ヌ。見レバ、野ニ陸近ク見ユ。人里ノ様ナル所見ユレバ、喜ビ作ラ、先ヅ陸ニ上ヌ。身ハ土形ナレバ、水ノ有ル所ニ寄テ洗フ。二月許ノ事ナレバ、極テ寒シ。篩ヒフルフ、「人ノ家ニ立入ラバヤ」ト思フニ、夜モ白ラト成ル程ニ、翁ノ杖ヲ突タル、出来テ打見テ、「此ハ何ナル人ノ様ニテ御スルゾ」ト云ヘバ、女、「盗人ニ値タル也。何ガ可為キ」ト云ヘバ、翁、「穴、糸惜シ。去来給ヘ」ト云テ、家ニ将行テ、妻ノ嫗ニ、「此レ見ヨ。此ル人ノ御シツル」ト云ヘバ、嫗、慈悲有ケル者ニテ、此レヲ哀ムデ、賤ノ襖ト云フ物着セテ、奥ノ方ニ居ヘテ、火ニ炮ナドシ有レバ、活タル心地シテ臥タルニ、食物ナド吉ク食セテ、二三日臥タル程ニ、見レバ、実ニ端正ナル女也。早ウ、此ハ有シ所ヲ遥ニ去テ□

而ニ、其ノ国ノ司□ト云フ人ノ子也ケル若カリ人、未ダ妻モ無クテ有ケル、此ノ家ノ嫗ノ娘、館ニ宮仕シテ有ケル、家ニ出テ、見ニ、此ノ人有リ。打語ナドシテ日来有ケル。其ノ女、亦館ニ行テ此ノ

人ノ有様ヲ語ルニ、此ノ家ノ子ノ主、此ヲ聞テ、忽ニ其ノ小家ニ行テ、押入テ見ルニ、実ニ、糸目安クテ、此ハ弊シト見ユル所モ無テ、賤ノ襖ヲ着テ居タリ。寄テ罷ド為ルニ、可辞キ様無ケレバ、親ク成リニケリ。其ノ後、男、衣共ナド着セテ、館ニ迎テ住ケリ。

日来ヲ住ル程ニ、女、有シ事共不落ズ、泣々ク語ケレバ、男、「奇異也ケル事カナ」ト思テ、父ノ守ニ此ノ女ノ事ヲバ不云デ、守ニ云ケル様、「国ニ某ト申ス男、年来、盗ヲ以テ業トシ、近来、京ヨリ女ヲ迎テ、其ノ妻ヲ殺サムトシ、逃シケレバ、其ノ妻ノ許ニ有ル。速ニ可召キ也」ト。守、此ノ事ヲ聞テ、使ヲ彼ノ国ニ遣テ、此ノ由ヲ云送ル。彼ノ国ニモ、其ノ男、本ヨリ其ノ聞ヘ有ケルニ合セテ、此ク云ヒ送タレバ、即チ其ノ男ヲ搦テ、国人ヲ具シテ送タレバ、此ノ事ヲ問フニ、更ニ不落ザリケレバ、責テ問ケレバ、遂ニ有シ事云ヒケリ。本ノ妻、簾ノ内ニテ此ヲ見テ、糸哀ニ思ケリ。此ノ盗人男ヲバ、野ニ将行テ頸ヲ切リケリ。

女ハ、此ノ家ノ子ト永ク夫妻トシテ、京ニ上テ住ケリ。此レ偏ニ、観音ノ御助也トテ、女、殊ニ観音ニ仕ケリ。

其ノ心有ケレバ、此ク仏ノ利益ヲモ蒙ケル。女ノ語ケルヲ聞テ、語リ伝ヘタルトヤ。

Funding by IKS-MoE

RATNA HANDURUKANDE, PERADENIYA (SRILANKA)

ṚṢIPAÑCAKA-JĀTAKA*

"What is the greatest misery?" is a question raised and discussed by five seers, whose views are recorded in the Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka. The Sanskrit text of the jātaka, unpublished as yet, occurs in the following manuscripts: A, the Avadānasārasamuccaya kept in the University Library at Cambridge;[1] B, the Jātakamālāvadānasūtra of the Tokyo University Library;[2] and C, a manuscript kept at the Ryukoku University in Japan.[3] The foremost of the five ṛṣis was the Bodhisattva (Buddha-to-be), according to the Sanskrit story,[4] sketched below.

---

* I am thankful to Professors J. W. de Jong, Michael Hahn and Dr. Ranjini Obeysekere for suggestions relating to the text and translation quoted in this article.

[1] MS.Add.1598 in the Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, by C. Bendall, Cambridge 1883. The Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka (incomplete) occurs on ff. 1b1 – 12b6 of the manuscript. Folio 3, and folio 13 containing the end of the story is missing. For a summary of the contents of this manuscript see: The Avādanasārasamuccaya by Ratna Handurukande in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture,* Volume I (1972). The content of Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka was outlined there in brief but was given under the wrong title viz. the Sārthavāhajātaka, which is the title of the second story in the collection. Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka could not be identified then because folio 13 containing the colophon was, as noted above, missing in the manuscript.

[2] Ms. No. 139 in *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library* compiled by Seiren Matsunami, Tokyo (1965), pp. 58, 229. The Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka occurs on ff. 164b12 - 171a8 of the manuscript and forms the thirty-fifth story in it.

[3] Noted by Ariyoshi Sanada in *Ōtani tanken taishorai*: *Bonbun butten shiryō* (Results of the Ōtani expedition: Materials for the Buddhist Literature in the Sanskrit Language, published in Chūoajia Kodaigo bunken, Seiiki bunka kenkyu daiyon 'Literature on the Central Asian languages of the old ages', Seiiki studies pertaining to culture) Nr. 4 (1961). This manuscript ends the story with the statement that it is a thirty-fifth story. *iti ṛṣipañcakajātakam pañcatriṃśattamam.*

[4] An edition of the jātaka based on these three manuscripts has been prepared by the present writer to form part of an edition of the first five stories of the Avadānasārasamuccaya. Written in a mixture of prose and verse, and reminiscent of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā in language and style, the Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka contains 93 stanzas.

'It is traditionally heard as follows. The Bodhisattva was born in a great brahman family, which was distinguished on account of virtues desired by people.[5] Renouncing the state of a householder, he lent splendour to a certain hermitage.[6] He had four friends: a crow, a pigeon, a snake and a deer.[7] On one occasion, there arose this discussion among them. "Now then, what do you sirs consider to be surpassingly sorrowful?" Of them, the crow spoke first, displaying (his) cleverness as it were. "In this case there is no misery worse than hunger. For,

Neither disease, nor old age, nor separation from friends, nor the kinds of misfortune arising from association with the bad, bring that misery to a person, as the shame of a hungry person, which causes the agony of isolation.

Since heedless ones, who reach the Vaitaraṇī (river) with its rows of saline waves, hard to cross, swallow balls of (red-hot) iron, through hunger, there is no other evil like hunger.[8]

---

[5] The text quoted here is from the edited version based on the manuscripts A, B and C listed earlier. *Tadyathānuśrūyate. Bodhisattvaḥ kila lokābhimataguṇābhilakṣite mahati brāhmaṇakule janma pratijagrāha.* (A 1b2-3; B *tadyathānusmarāmi*, C *tathāyanusmarāmi*)

[6] *So . . . apāsya gārhasthyam anyatamam āśramapadam abhyalañcakāra.* (A 1b5 . . . . -2a4)

[7] *Tasya . . . catvāras sahāyā babhūvuḥ vāyasaḥ pārāvato bhujago mṛgaś ca.* (missing in A).

[8] *Teṣām ekadā . . . ayaṃ viniścayo babhūva. Kiṃ nu khalu bhavanto 'tiśayena duḥkhaṃ manyante. Teṣām dakṣatām ivodbhāvayan prathamataraṃ vāyasaḥ provāca. Nehāsti kṣudho 'nyat paramaṃ duḥkhaṃ. Kutaḥ*

na vyādhayo na ca jarā na suhṛdviyogo
nāniṣṭasaṅgamamayā vyasanaprakārāḥ
duḥkhāni tāny upaharanti janasya yāni
hrī vipravāsaparitāpakarī jighatsoḥ*
duruttarakṣārataraṅgamālinīm
upāgatā vaitaraṇīṃ pramādinaḥ
bubhukṣayā yan nigiranty ayoguḍān .
tato 'sti na kṣutsadṛśo 'paraḥ kaliḥ

(missing in A.) The two stanzas quoted above are nos. 14 and 15 of the prepared edition of the jātaka. Beginning with these, the crow recites 14 stanzas describing the misery of hunger, i.e. stanzas 14-27. *BC °*tāparī*

Funding by IKS-MoE

Since (a person), even though separated from beloved ones as dear as life, and subject to the power of burning grief, (still) partakes of morsels (of food) mixed with tears; therefore the Victorious One said that distress culminates in hunger."[9]

Then, from among them, the pigeon spoke. "It is true. The misery of hunger is intense. However, listen to my view.

Passion alone is the great misery. This is my decided opinion. What will hunger do for it is averted even with ash?

Further: Even sages, who partake of air, water and withered leaves of trees, and have bodies emaciated through long periods of fasting, become blind, their powers arrested, through passion, the rising of which is hard to counteract.

Whether it be during nights, when the rays of the moon are bright, or during days, when the apertures of the sky are open wide, he who is overcome by passion, becomes the worst among the blind. Hence there is no evil in the world, like passion.[10]

---

[9] *yinākṛtaḥ prāṇasamair api priyair*
gato 'pi śokasya vaśaṃ vidāhinaḥ
yad aśrumiśrān kavaḍān niṣevate
tato bhayaṃ kṣutparamaṃ jino 'bravit
(A 4a1 begins with the third pāda)
This is stanza no. 17 of the jātaka.

[10] *Athaiṣāṃ pārāvataḥ provāca. Satyaṃ balavat kṣudduḥkhaṃ. Api tu mamābhiprāyaḥ śrūyatāṃ*

rāga eva mahad duḥkhaṃ iti me niścitā matiḥ
kṣut kariṣyati kiṃ yasmād bhasmanāpi nivāryate

Api ca

vāyvambujīrṇataruparṇabhujo 'pi nāma
dīrghopavāsaparikarśitagātrayantrāḥ
andhībhavanti munayas skhalitaprabhāvā
rāgena duḥpratividhānasamudbhavena
amlānacandrakiraṇāsv api yāminīṣu
protphālitābhravivareṣv api vā dineṣu
*andhādhamo *bhavati rāgaparājitātmā*
tasmān na rāgasadṛśaḥ kalir asti loke

(A 5a4-5b2). *manuscripts: *andhatamo*. These three stanzas are nos. 28-30 of the jatāka. Beginning with these the pigeon expresses its view in 17 stanzas, i.e. Nos. 28-44.

Therefore, passion, which incites all senses, is a great misery. When it was thus said, the snake spoke. "Is not passion, unseemly in conduct, which causes delusion of the mind, a misery indeed? But anger is the greater misery. So do I understand. (It) is the root cause which inflames the mind. Why?

Since a man stung by the bee of anger finds no sleep in a house, pleasant with the sweet songs of women accompanied by the sound of lutes and flutes, its watch-towers bathed in the rays of the moon, thick because of dispersed clouds, hence there is no other misery, more wretched than anger.[11]

A man kissed by anger has the loveliness of his face burnt. An angry person goes to evil states, full of flames, wheels (discs), and saws. Escaping from them, he becomes a pain to the eyes of (the people) of the world. Hence there is no other enemy hostile to loveliness like anger.

The fire of the mind, (anger), causes many a disaster and is full of evil. Thus the enemy of anger remains at the forefront of all miseries."[12]

The deer said "It is well, lord of snakes, to say that this calamity of anger is severe. (But) I do not know of a misery greater than the fear of death. Why?

Since the binding (temptations) of the Lord of Death, though pleasing, do not delight the minds of people frightened at the onset of death, I know of no further misery than that.

---

[11] *Sarvāyatanonmāthī tasmād rāgo mahad duḥkham ity ukte bhujago 'bravīt. Nanu khalu duḥkhaṃ rāgaś cittaviparyāsakṛd durācāraḥ krodhaṃ tu duḥkhataram ity avaimi cetojvalaṃ tu mūlaṃ. Kutaḥ*

vikṣiptāmbudasāndracandrakiraṇaprakṣālitāṭṭālake
vīṇāveṇuravānubaddhamadhurastrīgītaramye gṛhe
viddhaḥ krodhaśilīmukhena puruṣo nāpnoti nidrāṃ yataḥ
krodhād duḥkhataraṃ na duḥkham aparaṃ kiñcit tato vidyate

(A7b1-4). This is stanza no. 45 of the jatāka. Beginning with this, the snake recites 11 stanzas, i.e. Nos. 45-55 to support his view that anger is the greatest sorrow.

[12] *krodhāghrāto bhavati puruṣo dagdhalāvaṇyavaktro*
jvālācakrakrakacakalilān krodhano yāty apāyān
tebhyo bhraṣṭo bhavati jagato locanātaṅkabhūtaḥ
śrīvidveṣo na ripur aparaḥ krodhatulyo 'sti yasmāt
anekādīnavamayo vinipātī manojvalaḥ
ity evaṃ sarvaduḥkhānāṃ krodhārir dhuri vartate

(A 8b2-4; 9a3-4). The stanzas form nos. 51 and 55 of the text.

The distress one feels at the time of (one's) death, seeing the sad faces of friends with their uninterrupted flow of watery tears—I know not of a misery more painful than that.[13]

On hearing the sound of rustling grass, leaves or sprouts, frightened of death, (we), the deer living in the forest, run, disregarding one another and abandoning even (our) own offspring.[14]

Therefore I understand death, which is hard to overcome on account of affliction and causes fear to all beings, as the worst of all miseries."[15]

Since those noble animals, each adhering to its own statement, did not arrive at a conclusion of the discussion, they approached the bodhisattva, made obeisance in the proper manner, and spoke about this matter. "What, O Blessed One, is the (chief) misery out of hunger, passion, anger and the fear of death? Who among us has spoken well?" Then that best of sages spoke to them.

"All have spoken well and all have decided well. All these miseries cause

---

[13] *Mṛgo 'bravīt. Samyag vaktum etad bhujagapate krodhavaiśasaṃ tīvraṃ. Maraṇabhayād adhikataraṃ duḥkham ahaṃ nāvagacchāmi. Kutaḥ*

maraṇopanipātakātarāṇāṃ
kamanīyāny api mārabandhanāni
na mano ramayanti yaj janānāṃ
na tato duḥkham ataḥparaṃ paraimi
suhṛdāṃ vadanāni vīkṣamāṇo
ghanabāṣpāmbutaraṅgadurdināni
labhate vyasanaṃ yad antakāle
na tato duḥkham avaimi kaṣṭam anyat

(A 9a4-9b1). The stanzas are nos. 56-57 of the jatāka. Beginning with No. 56, the deer recites 17 stanzas, i.e. Nos. 56-72, to express its view that the fear of death is the greatest misery.

[14] *calatāṃ tṛṇaparṇapallavānāṃ*
dhvanim ākarṇya vane mṛgā vasantaḥ
anapekṣya parasparaṃ dravāmaḥ
svasutān apy avadhūya mṛtyubhītāḥ

(A9b4-5). This stanza is no. 61 in the jatāka.

[15] *sarvaduḥkhapratikruṣṭaṃ sarvabhūtabhayaṃkaraṃ*
avaimi maraṇaṃ tasmād upasargaduruttaraṃ

(A 10b6-11a1). This stanza is no. 72 in the jātaka.

Funding by IKS-MoE

pain to (those in) the three worlds.

But, good sirs, listen to my opinion as well.

That exceedingly (evil) manner of conduct which obstructs one's state of mind in (its striving towards) righteousness—that I understand and declare as misery.

Scorching impurities connected with birth, which vie with one another as it were, do indeed hurt undiscerning people.

What destructive action, dreadful because it takes effect in evil states, will not people indulge in, afflicted by the misery of hunger?

People who have gone beyond the noble bounds of morality, their minds afflicted by passion, become objects of pity to those who see the truth.

People coarsened by anger, become, in a moment, different (persons) as it were, their eyes transformed and rolling with the movement of the distinctly contracted brows.

A long-term exile from the world, separated from all beings—death, this is a continual fear to all people.

These and whatever other kinds of hair-raising miseries there are, they follow birth just as good people (pursue) compassion.[16]

---

[16] *Yataś ca te mahāsattvāḥ svaṃ svaṃ vādam abhiniviṣṭā na kathāparyavasānam āsādayanti tato bodhisattvam upetya nyāyataḥ praṇamyemam artham ūcuḥ. Bhagavan kṣudrāgakrodhamaraṇabhayānāṃ kiṃ nu duḥkhaṃ. Kasya vāsmākaṃ subhāṣitam ity athainān sa munivaryo 'bravīt.*

subhāṣitaṃ ca sarveṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ ca suniścitaṃ
sarvāṇy etāni duḥkhāni rujanti bhuvanatrayaṃ

Api ca bhadramukhā mamāpy abhiprāyaḥ śrūyatāṃ

abhīkṣṇasamudācāro dharme yo yasya bādhate
āśramaṃ manaso duḥkham ity avaimi bravīmi ca
spardhamānā ivānyonyam upaghnanti vidāhinaḥ
lokān eva nirālokāñ janmasambandhino malāḥ
kṣudduḥkhopahatātmānaḥ kiṃ na kuryuḥ śarīriṇaḥ
apāyaphalasaṃdhānadāruṇaṃ karmavaiśasaṃ
vyatikrāntāryamaryādā rāgopakliṣṭacetasaḥ
bhavanti karuṇāpātraṃ puruṣās tattvadarśināṃ
sphuṭabhrūbhaṅgavikṣepabhramadvikṛtalocanāḥ
kṣaṇenānya ivābhānti puruṣāh paruṣā ruṣā
sarvasattvair vinā bhāvapravāso dīrghakālikaḥ

Funding by IKS-MoE

Further sirs,

Passion of different kinds, old age, humiliation, acquisition and protection of wealth, ruining vices, the great sins, aversions arising out of contact with the bad, the various miseries of minds easily effected by the separations from the desired and the unions with the undesired,—since these occur to people from arriving at (the condition of) birth, that alone is misery, in this instance.

Praiseworthy is the birth of those fortunate ones, the eyes of the world, the greatness of whose endeavour is inconceivable, whose activity is always opposed to self-interest, and whose births are delightful on account of service to others in all ways. The birth, even momentarily, of a person intent on one's own welfare is a calamity leading to an evil fate.

Hence I say: Practice firm vigilance to gain enlightenment, or else strive quickly for the complete destruction of existence. They who abandon these two (courses) enter, much against their will, dreadful evil states, the 'mare's mouth', and caverns.

If (people) attain these two (courses) with effort, the effort is all the more fitting, the result being great. (So) do I think. Of what use is it to have a pierced varāṭaka seed, even if it be (made of) nectar. The mere effort made to acquire the wish(-granting)-gem is better."[17]

---

bhayam ātyantikaṃ hṛdaṃ maraṇaṃ sarvadehināṃ
ete cānye ca ye duḥkhaprakārā romaharṣaṇāḥ
te jātim anuvartante karuṇām iva sādhavaḥ

(A 11a1-11b4). The stanzas quoted above form nos. 73-80 of the text. Beginning with stanza no. 73, the bodhisattva recites 20 stanzas, i.e. Nos. 73-92 expressing his view.

[17] *Api cāyuṣmantaḥ*

rāgo 'nekavidho jarā paribhavo bhogārjanā rakṣaṇā
pradhvaṃsavyasanaṃ mahātyayam asatsamparkajaṃ vaikṛtaṃ
iṣṭāniṣṭaviyogayogasulabhās te te manoviplavā
jātiṃ prāpya yato bhavanti jagataḥ saiveha duḥkhaṃ tataḥ
ātmārthapratiyoginī bhagavatāṃ yeṣāṃ kriyā sarvadā
sarvākāraparopakāramadhurā yeṣāṃ samutpattayaḥ
ślāghyā jātir acintyayogamahatāṃ teṣāṃ jagaccakṣuṣāṃ
janma svārthaparasya tu kṣaṇikam apy āpāyikī viplutiḥ

Tasmād brūmahe.

saṃbodhaye kuruta vā sthiram apramādaṃ

Funding by IKS-MoE

Then, accepting the ordinance of that best of sages, with heads weak in pride and arrogance, and minds concentrated on righteousness, they spread on all sides, glory as white as the water-lily in autumn.[18]

The manuscripts on which the above sketch of the legend is based do not give any hint about the author of the text. However, it has recently been listed among a group of texts bearing a similarity to Gopadatta's Saptakumārikāvadāna by Michael Hahn, who advances the hypothesis that Gopadatta may be the author of this group of texts as well, in his study on Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series I, Tokyo 1977).

The story does not occur in the Pali tradition. Hunger is the greatest disease according to stanza no. 203 of the Sukhavagga, the fifteenth chapter of the Pali Dhammapada, while the preceding stanza states that there is no fire like passion and no sin like hatred.[19] However, the corresponding stories occurring in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, the commentary on the Dhammapada written by Buddhaghoṣa, viz. the aññatarassa upāsakavatthu and the aññatarassā kuladārikāya vatthu in which the above verses occur are completely different from our story, as is evident from their titles themselves.[20]

---

tūrṇaṃ ghaṭadhvam atha vā bhavasaṃkṣayāya
etad dvayaṃ tu virahayya viśanty akāmā
bhīmāny apāyavaḍavāmukhagahvarāṇi
yatnena ced ubhayam etad avāpnuvanti
yatnaḥ phale mahati yuktataro mato me
chidraṃ varāṭakam avāpya sudhāpi kiṃ syāc
cintāmaṇer adhigamāya varaṃ śramo 'pi

(A 12a3-12b4). These stanzas are nos. 86-89 in the text.

[18] *ājñāṃ śirobhir atha te pratigṛhya tasya*
mānābhimānamṛdubhir munisattamasya
dharmaikatānamanasaḥ prathayāṃ babhūvuḥ
kīrtiṃ saratkumudinīdhavalāṃ samantāt

(Missing in A.). This stanza is no. 93, the concluding stanza of the jātaka.

[19] Dhammapada 203: *jighacchā paramā rogā, saṃkhārā paramā dukhā,*
etaṃ ñatvā yathābhūtaṃ nibbāṇaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ
Dhammapada 202: *n'atthi rāgasamo aggi, n'atthi dosasamo kali,*
n'atthi khandhadisā dukkhā n'atthi santiparam sukhaṃ.

[20] For a translation of these stories see: pp. 73-76 of Buddhist Legends, translated from the original Pali text of the Dhammapada Commentary, by

A translation of our version of the story does not occur in the Tibetan Canon. But a story relating to five seers is the theme, as its title indicates, of the Draṅ-sroṅ-[soṅ]-lṅaḥi skyes-paḥi rabs-te skyes-paḥi rabs-lṅa-pa, the fifteenth story in the Haribhaṭṭa-jātaka-mālā-nāma, a collection of thirty-five jātakas available in Tibetan translation under the title Seṅ-ge shabs-ḥbriṅ-paḥi skyes-pa rabs-kyi phreṅ-ba shes-bya-ba. The authorship of this text is attributed to Rgyal-poḥi-sras Seṅ-ge shabs-ḥbriṅ-pa (Rājaputrācārya Haribhaṭṭa) and the Tibetan translation is said to have been done by Paṇḍitālaṃkadevaḥi shabs and Tshul-khrims ḥbyuṅ-gnas sbas-pa.[21] F. W. Thomas has identified this jātaka in an analysis of Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā and calls it the Muni- or Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka.[22]

The outline of the version of the story in the Tibetan Haribhaṭṭa-jātaka-mālā is as follows: The Bodhisattva, born in this world, was like an ornament to his family on account of his virtues. His mind was not captivated by the objects of the senses. Reflecting on the evils of household-life, he left his home and resorted to a penance grove, where he made four friends, through his kindness. These were a deer, a crow, a snake and a pigeon. At the end of a session of meditation, they came to the Bodhisattva and sat down. Then the deer spoke and said that there was no misery greater than fear, while the crow said that there was no misery greater than hunger. The snake said that there was no misery other than anger, which yielded greater evil, and the pigeon said that lust was the worst of all miseries.

The Bodhisattva asked them to listen and declared that the root of the miseries spoken of by them was birth itself, the cause for which in turn was ignorance (avidyā). The friends then asked the Bodhisattva the means of putting an end to birth, the cause of all miseries. Thereupon the Bodhisattva preached a sermon, advising them to refrain from evil, to practise virtue, and to resort to meditation. The animals applauded this religious discourse and returned to their abodes, where they led virtuous lives and attained a state of

---

E. W. Burlingame, Part 3, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 30, Harvard University Press, 1921.

[21] Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Japanese fascimile edition, Vol. 128, No. 5652.

[22] F. W. Thomas, Notes from the Tanjur, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1904:733-743 esp. 737.

Funding by IKS-MoE

tranquillity. Observing that even animals achieved goodness through association with the virtuous, the author of the text poses the question as to what need there is to speak of the value of such companionship in the case of human beings, a question reminiscent of the conclusion of some stories occurring in Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā.

As the above summary of the contents shows, the main subject-matter of this version preserved in the Tibetan Haribhaṭṭa-jātakamālā is the same as that of our story. Thus it appears that there were more than one Sanskrit version of the legend.

The Chinese Buddhist Canon contains not only a version of the Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka but also the nidāna-kathā, which describes the incident that led to it being narrated. The particular Chinese text where the story occurs is the Fă-kheu-pi-ü, i.e. parables connected with the book of Scriptural texts, one of the four principal copies of the Dhammapada in Chinese. This Chinese translation of the Dhammapada attributed to two monks of the Western Tsin dynasty (A. D. 265 – A. D. 313) has been freely rendered into English by Samuel Beal.[23]

The Fă-kheu-pi-ü contains, as its title indicates, certain parables or tales connected with the verses which follow them and which prompted their narration. Raising the question as to how far these tales are genuine, Beal thinks that an observation made by Max Müller in his introduction to the translation of the Pali Dhammapada which he quotes, viz. that the stories "may have been invented to suit the text of the Dhammapada rather than vice versa" is very probable. However, assuming that the stories must have been well-known in India prior to the middle of the third century A. D., and judging from the ordinary period occupied in the transmission of such tales, Beal further infers that the stories may reasonably be referred to a date perhaps as early as Ārya

---

[23] Texts from the Buddhist Canon, commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying narratives translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal, London 1878; another edition, London 1902. The story given on p. 37 of *Les Avadānas, contes et apologues Indiens inconnus jusqu'a ce jour suivis de fables, de poesies et de nouvelles Chinoises,* trauite par M. Stanislas Julien, tome premier, Paris 1859 is based on Fa-kiu-p'i-yu-king (Taisho Vol. IV, Nr. 211), the same source used by Beal. Another version of the story not known hitherto occurs in Taisho Vol. IV, Nr. 194, Seng-k'ie-lo-tch'a-so-tsi-king (N=Nanjio 1352), p. 121c, according to information sent to us by Prof. D. Schlingloff (Munich).

Funding by IKS-MoE

Dharmatrāta to whom, he says, the Chinese copies of the Dhammapada without exception refer its first arrangement. After a brief discussion on the possible date of Dharmatrāta, Beal assigns him to about 70 B.C.[24]

The method of composition adopted in the Fă-kheu-pi-ü is to give one or two tales and a verse or more as the moral. The tales relevant to the study of Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka occur in the chapter entitled Sukhavagga, which forms the twenty-third section of the text. We quote the relevant section from Beal's translation:

> In days of old, when Buddha was residing in the Jetavana, at Śrāvastī, there were four Bhikshus seated under a tree, who conversed together thus: "What think you is the greatest misery to bear in all the world?" One said the greatest misery in the world is lust; another said the greatest misery is hunger and thirst; another said it was anger; another said it was fear. Whilst they were thus disputing, without any hope of agreement, Buddha, knowing the case, transported himself to the spot, and inquired what their disputation was about. On this the Bhikshus, having arisen and paid him homage, explained how the case stood. On this the world-honoured explained that they had not got to the bottom of the matter, but that the body itself was the greatest misery, for from the body comes the misery of hunger and thirst, cold and heat, anger, and pride, and lust; and therefore our aim should be to get rid of the body, and thus attain the perfect rest of Nirvāṇa. And then he added these stanzas:
>
> "There is no burning greater than lust; there is no distress (poison) worse than hate; there is no misery greater than this body; there is no joy like (its) destruction.[25] Without accordance there can be little joy; small power of distinguishing truth argues little wisdom; by perceiving and seeking for that which is truly great, by this means alone one obtains perfect rest. Now I, the Honoured of the world, fully explain the character of the sorrowless; I fully (am able) to deliver the three worlds; I alone (or by myself alone) have overthrown the whole army of Māra (the devil)."

Having uttered these words, the Buddha explained how that in ages gone by there was a certain bhikshu possessed of the five super-natural powers (iddhi), who dwelt in the mountains under a tree, practising austerities with a view to final release. Whilst dwelling thus, four animals also came and took up their abode near him, namely, a small bird (sparrow?), a large bird (quail?), a poisonous snake, and a deer. On one occasion the Bhikshu heard these creatures

---

[24] Beal, ibid., Introduction

[25] Beal compares this stanza to Dhammapada verse 202, quoted in note 19 above.

Funding by IKS-MoE

also contending between themselves which was the greatest misery in the world, and they also, from their various dispositions assigned the same causes of suffering as you have, namely, lust, hunger, anger, and fear. Whereupon the Bhikshu explained to them also, as I have done to you, that the body, the source of all sorrow, is the greatest misery, and therefore the greatest happiness is to get rid of the body, and obtain Nirvāṇa. And on this they were able to understand the truth. Now at that time I was the Bhikshu, and you were the four creatures. On hearing this the mendicants were filled with holy fear and self-upbraidings, after which they were able to come to the condition of Rahats.

There is no nidānakathā in the Sanskrit version of the Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka known to us. The Chinese version is more complete in that its nidānakathā provides the paccuppannavatthu, an incident from the time of Gautama Buddha, followed by the atītavatthu or past story and the identification of characters in the two episodes, which are necessary requirements of a jātaka. The main story, that is the story of the past, is substantially the same in the Chinese and Sanskrit versions, except in matters of detail like the identity of the crow and the pigeon being not clear in the Chinese text. It may also be noted that the Bodhisattva declares birth as the root of all sorrows in the Sanskrit, while the body is said to be the source of sorrow in the Chinese version.

The story as appearing in a Chinese work on the life of the Buddha is quoted by N.P. Joshi, who describes a representation of a snake, a deer, a crow and a dove before an ascetic near his hut in the upper medallion on a railing pillar at Mathura.[26] Another representation of the legend is said to be found in Bharhut.[27] Waldschmidt, describes a representation of the legend in a temple cave in Qyzil near Kucha. Referring to the translation of the legend by Juliens, he calls it the 'avadāna' of the ascetic Vīryabala. He further states that Krom and Van Erp have noted a representation of the legend at Borobudur.[28]

The legend thus appears to have been well-known and popular in India and other regions as well.

---

[26] N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, 1966, p. 50. Joshi identifies the sculptural representation as the 'Jātaka of the Worst Evil', quoting V. S. Agrawala, Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, *JUPHS*. 24-25.38-39.

[27] Vogel V, XIV a, a reference sent by Prof D. Schlingloff, which is not available to us at present.

[28] *Bibliographie Bouddhique* I Jan 1928 — Mai 1929 Paris 1930. A. von le Coq und E. Waldschmidt, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel-Asien*, Sechster Teil. Neue Bildwerke II. Mit einem Beitrag über die Darstellungen und den Stil der Wandgemälde aus Qyzil bei Kutscha, Berlin MCMXXVIII, p. 48.

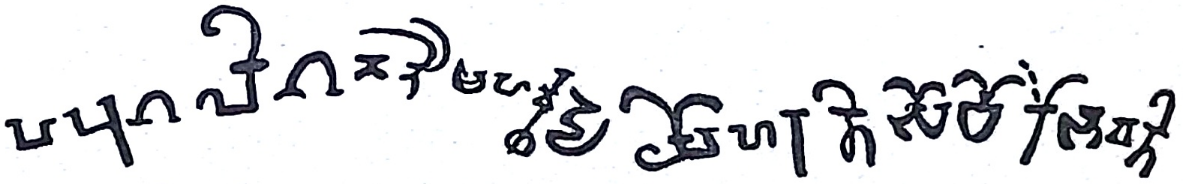
Funding by IKS-MoE

OSKAR V. HINÜBER, MAINZ, GERMANY

A BRĀHMĪ-INSCRIPTION FROM KARA-TEPE

The results of the particularly successful excavations conducted by a Russian team of archaeologists since 1937 at Kara-Tepe near ancient Termez have been published so far in four small volumes[1]. In the fourth issue "New Finds at Kara-Tepe in Ancient Termez" (*Novye Nachodki na Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze*), which appeared in Moscow 1975, V.V. Vertogradova has published an article "On an Indian Inscription on a Vessel from Kara-Tepe" (*Ob Odnoj Indijskoj Nadpisi na Sosude iz Kara-Tepe*), which, however, is dealing with two inscriptions. Only the first and longer one discussed by Vertogradova will be dealt with here.

As far as this can be gathered from the two photographs (No. 12, 13 on page 188f.) attached to the article, this inscription is complete, but slightly rubbed off in some places. This may be considered as exceptional good fortune because almost all vessels bearing inscriptions were broken when found, and consequently small fragments of this kind of inscriptions have been recovered up to now.



The inscription found at Kara-Tepe is read by Vertogradova as follows (the dash marks her division of words): *papugaliga-nanaiṣa-pacchedya-yo-harati-so-dhore-bhavati* and translated as "the one, who is of difference among the persons, having cut off, removes, he is at this side (of the way)". These rather dark words, considered to be one kind or other of Buddhist philosophy by Vertogradova, not only make a very strange reading, they are at the same time extremely unusual and bewildering for an inscription on a vessel of daily use. For, as far as this can be judged from other material[2] on the rule there are the names of the owner or of the donor written on potsherds and not what seems to be the words of a philosopher.

---

[1] The results have been summed up by E.G. Ptechelina and B.J. Stavisky: Kara-Tepe. Remains of a Buddhist Monastery of the Kushan Period in Old Termez. In: *Indo-Asian Studies I* (1963).193-202 (Śata-Piṭaka Series, No. 31), New Delhi; cf. also: B.J. Stavisky: Two notes on Kushan Bactria. In: *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, I(1972).253-260.

Although I am unable to remove all the difficulties of this inscription, the correction of two misreadings by Vertogradova might help to elucidate its meaning. Instead of *nanaiṣa* analysed by Vertogradova as *nānā eṣa* we should read *na taiṣa*. The *akṣara tai* is clearly distinct from the preceding *na* by the line bent downwards in its lower right part, which brings this *akṣara* very near to the shape of *ti* in *bhavati*. More serious a change in reading is necessary for *dhore*, where *coro* should be read. The upper part of the *akṣara ra* is rubbed off, but the right half of the wing-shaped *-o* is visible. As there are faint but certain traces of the left wing of the *-o*, too, on the photograph (page 189), *-e* as read by Vertogradova is ruled out. Although it is true that the *akṣara ca* looks differently from that in the ligature *ccha* [the photograph is not very clear as far as *ccha* is concerned], there is nothing to support the reading *dha* or to contradict *ca*. Both *akṣaras* tend to look similar anyway, and we need further palaeographic evidence from Kara-Tepe to decide this reading with certainty.

Having made these corrections, we should read as follows: *papugaliga-na-taiṣa-pacchedya-yo-harati-so-coro-bhavati* As for the reading *papugaliga* I have some doubts, but I have to rely on Vertogradova, as the photograph is not clear. It does not seem to be impossible, however, to read *pāpugaliga*, as faint traces of what once might have been an *-ā* can be distinguished above the *akṣara pa*. If *pāpugaliga* is the correct reading, which is far from certain, its interpretation poses serious difficulties which I am unable to overcome. Certainly wrong is Vertogradova's suggestion to analyse this word as *pa-p-ugaliga* derived from *paudgalika* with an "epenthetic *-p-*" (!). We have to assume that *pā-* stands for *prā-* as in *pacchedya*, and that *pugala* is *puṃgala*, the common spelling for *puggala* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The meaning of **prāpudgalika* is difficult to

---

[2] Relevant material is collected by S. Gurumurthy: Inscribed potsherds from South Indian Excavations, in: *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* III(1977).120-123; B. Ch. Chhabra: Peshawar Potsherds with Kharoṣṭhī Writings, 125-129; and T.N. Ramachandran: A inscribed pot and other Buddhist remains in Salihundam. 133-137, both in: *Epigraphia Indica* 28(1949-50); potsherds from Valā (Gujarat) are published in: *Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat* ed. by M.R. Majumdar, Baroda 1960, 197 and plate XXVIIA. Further material is published by St. Konow: *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II.1, Calcutta 1929 and S. Mizuno: Four Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on potsherds from Basawal. In: *Basawal and Jelalabad-Kabul*. Kyoto 1971 108sq.; further G. M. Bongard-Levin: New Sanskrit and Prakrit Texts from Central Asia, in: *Indologica Taurinensia* III-IV(1975-1976).74-80, esp. 77.

ascertain, one might guess "belonging to a foreman (**prapudgala*)" (??).

The next two words are *na taiṣa* corresponding to *na teṣāṃ*, *-ai-* being a hypersanskritization and *teṣa* being a fairly common spelling for *teṣāṃ* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The genitive here substitutes the ablative (F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, 1953 § 7.56). Thus the first part of the inscription can be translated into "Sanskrit" as *prāpudgalikaṃ na teṣāṃ pracchedyaṁ.* If this interpretation of the inscription is accepted, its meaning becomes clear and fits well into what we know of other inscribed vessels: "Property of the foremen (?); it should not be taken away from them. He, who removes (it), is a thief."

Funding by IKS-MoE

CHIA-LUEN LO

CHINESE SOURCES FOR INDIAN HISTORY

Like the knights of frail historians know no national boundaries in their quest for sources for history; but unlike the knights they can oftener than not attain their objects if they follow the right direction. For instance, in recent decades, Chinese historians like Hung Chiung[1], Ko Shao-Wen[2] and Tu Chi[3] completed their important works on the history of the Yüan Dynasty (i.e. the history of the Mongolian period) by collecting, comparing, analyzing and utilizing historical materials from Western sources bearing upon that period, thereby giving rise to a new type of scholarship on Yüan history. Scholars of Iranian history will always appreciate the contributions found in B. Laufer's famous book *Sino-Iranica*, which, revealing as it does Chinese sources hitherto unknown, throws a great deal of light on the history of Iran. And I cannot help feeling a little proud when I say that books by Chinese scholar-pilgrims, such as Fa-hsien, Yuan-chwang, and I-tsing, written in the early centuries and preserved to this day, can still be valuable sources for Indian history. Indeed, their names and books may be regarded as an inseparable part of Indian history and historiography as well.

Curiously, the records and writings of those Chinese pilgrims had been little known in modern India until European scholars translated some of them into English and other European languages. Great credit goes to James Legge[4], Thomas Watters[5], Samuel Beal[6], St. Julien[7], and a few other European sinologues. Distinguished Western scholars of Chinese history and explorers in Central Asia, such as Edouard Chavannes, Henri Cordier, Paul Pelliot. and Aurel Stein also regarded as authoritative references in the records and writings of Chinese scholar-pilgrims. It is a pity, if not an irony, that we Chinese and Indians have done practically nothing in this kind of interesting and important translation work.

---

[1] Chinese Minister in St. Petersburg in the end of the 19th century, whose scholarly work "Supplementary Evidences from Translations for the History of the Yüan Dynasty" is a comparative study of Chinese and Iranian sources for that period.

[2] A great authority on the Yüan period, whose monumental work "The New History of the Yüan Dynasty" is generally accepted by Chinese and Japanese historians as a masterly contribution to the study of that dynasty.

[3] Late professor of the National Peking University, whose work "The History of the Mongols" is a careful study with reference to Western sources.

[4] *Fa Hien's Records of Buddhist Kingdoms*, translated by James Legge.

[5] Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.* an English translation of Yuan Chwang's *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi* with comments.

[6] Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, a collection of his translations of the works of Fa Hsien, Sung Yun and Yuan Chwang.

[7] St. Julien, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang et de Hiouen-Thsang et de ses voyages dans*

In my earlier years I began to interest myself in the works of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims and felt drawn to a style of amazing accuracy found in Yuan Chwang's *Ta-tang-hsi-yu-chi* (Tang Records of Western Countries) and his disciple Hui Li's biography of him of the title of *Ta-tzu-en-ssu-san-tsang-fa-shih-chuan* (Records of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Compassion Monastery). Both books contain a detailed and clear picture of the conditions of India in general and those of the reign of Harṣa in particular in respect of culture, education, calendar, measures, politics, social relations, agricultural produce, industrial products, and, above all, religious traditions. Yuan Chwang was a most beloved and esteemed disciple of Śīlabhadra and proved such a brilliant and original scholar in Buddhist studies that his master and eminent fellow-scholars showered upon him overwhelming admiration and even made him the occupant of the first chair among the lecturers in the Nalanda Monastery, the great centre of learning of the time. His unique academic standing may be compared to the regius professorship plus deanship in a time-honoured English university, but Yuan Chwang was a scholar and personality of such an unparalleled stature of any age. His records and writings have also for centuries helped his fellow countrymen to know India and her cultural and philosophical wealth.

After and even before Fa Hsien, Yuan Chwang, and I Tsing, there came to India many other Chinese scholar-pilgrims at different times between the third and eighth centuries. Their records and writings, though they may not reach the high plane of those of the best known three pioneers, are, nevertheless, highly valuable in their own right. Here, we cannot do better than to quote the late Prof. Liang Chi-Chao, an eminent scholar and reformer, who made a revealing study of Sino-Indian cultural relations in early times and a far-reaching search for the names and deeds of those scholar-pilgrims first to go to India to build up an intellectual bridge. His essay *Chinese Students going Abroad 1500*

---

l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645. It is to be noted also that the work of I Tsing, *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-chuan*, was translated by Prof. J. Takakusu of Japan, the title of the translation being *Record of the Buddhist Religion.*

Funding by IKS-MoE

Years Ago and Afterwards was generally accepted as a careful treatise on this subject. In his *The Study of Chinese History*,[10] a well-known book on Chinese historical methodology, the author told his own story of how he had done the research work: "It has long been my endeavour to trace out the ancient cultural relations between China and India and to discover a stream of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims who went to India to cultivate such relations. Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang are, no doubt, well known names. But my final findings among historical records and individual biographies cover 105 scholar-pilgrims whose names can be established and 82 others whose names are in oblivion. Anyway, for all we know, as many as 187 of them visited or attempted to visit India at different times. At first, I confined my research to Hui Chiao's *Kao-seng-chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Buddhists)[11] and I Tsing's *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yu-chiu-fa-kao-seng-chuan* (Biographies of Westward Pilgrims),[12] and I was overjoyed when I had collected therein the names of 67 scholar-pilgrims. My continued efforts in several months brought the total to 187, whom I classified according to their respective periods, places of birth, routes they took from China to India, scholastic achievements, and so on. These findings, I believe, will serve to throw some light upon Sino-Indian relations in the olden days and the interactions of the Indian and Chinese arts, literatures and philosophies." Part of Prof. Liang's findings on this subject is as follows:

Number of Pilgrims	Period of going to India
2	Later part of 3rd century
5	4th century
61	5th century
14	6th century
56	7th century
31	8th century

Number of Pilgrims	Condition of Trip and Sojourn
42	They learned in India and returned to China
16	They are known to have gone as far as Western Sinkiang, but it is not certain whether they went on into India.
unknown number	They did not reach India: they turned back after having covered a greater part of the journey.
2	They did reach India, but they returned to China shortly.

31	They never reached India: they died on the way.
6	They died in India.
5	They died on their way back to China after having completed their studies in India.
6	They made their second pilgrimage to India. One of them died midway of his return trip to India.
7	They stayed on in India indefinitely.
unknown number	It cannot be established whether they stayed on in India or returned to China or whether they died somewhere.

All in all, 109 pilgrim-scholars can be traced with a fair amount of certainty while 82 others or more must be left to further research. Among the former, 37 died on their journey to or back from India and 6 died in India, making a death rate of 39.4%. This surprisingly high mortality must be accepted when we see what almost insurmountable difficulties attended their travel in those days across quick-sand deserts and over snow-capped mountains. For instance, when Yuan Chwang passed through the Yu Men Gate and debouched upon the Mo-Ho-Yen desert, he recorded: "Here I can hardly proceed. So thirsty I am, having had not a drop of water for five days and four nights. I might die any moment . . . . . ." In the limitless expanse of the desert, this and other lone wayfarers followed no guide but the bleached bones of men and animals lying on the non-descript trail. As for the sea voyage it was beset by all manner of dangers and voyagers had to beg for their lives from winds and waves. Fa Hsien, for instance, braved the sea on his return trip to China. Once his boat was caught in a storm and the skipper ordered all the passengers to jettison all their belongings except necessary clothes. But Fa Hsien threw overboard his very clothes and kept his Buddhist scriptures and images instead. In another instance, while a furious typhoon was threatening to devour and capsize his boat, his fellow-passengers ascribed the wrath of the sea to the presence in their midst of a monk, and so they came near to throwing him into the sea as an appeasement. His intended destination was Canton, but, after being blown here and there for months, he finally landed at Tsingtao. It was a miracle that Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang survived all the dangers of deserts, mountains, and seas. Only their thirst for knowledge, their religious fervour, their love for India, their conviction, fortitude and courage sustained them throughout their pilgrimage and such a spirit will always be a source of inspiration for those of us who wish to study India and Indian history and to develop closer Sino-Indian cultural relations.

While many of the pilgrims are not known to have left behind records or reminiscences, quite a few of them did write books, many of which later perished. For instance, the following books written by learned pilgrims in the 5th century are now known by their mere titles. The Autobiography of Tao Yeh[13], *Yu-lieh-wai-kuo-chuan* (A Traveller's Records of Foreign Countries) by Bao Yun[14], *Wai-kuo-chuan* (Records of Foreign Countries) by Tuan Chin[15], and *Li-kuo-chuan-chi* (Through different Countries) by Fa Yung[16]...all seem to have been lost or are in obscurity. This undoubtedly is lamentable, but one must not give up hope and say that these and other lost books or manuscripts are entirely irretrievable. Hwei Chao's *Wan-wu-tien-chu-kuo-chuan* (Travels in Five Parts of India)[17], written in the early 8th century, had long been given up as a complete loss until, forty years ago, it was discovered in part, by accident, in the Thousand Buddha Caves of Tung Huang, Kansu Province. This salvage consists of more than six thousand scribed words, which are of course only a portion, not an essential one at that, of a long book. Yet a new hope wells up in the hearts of those who are always searching for missing links in historical data. The late Mr. Lo Tsen-Yu edited this revived portion of the lost book of Hwei Chao in his *Cloud Window Collection.*[18]

There are books which are partially preserved in another manner. They no longer exist in whole by themselves, but references to and quotations from them appear in books and records by their contemporaries and later authors. For instance, Wang Hsiun-Cheh, Chinese envoy to the court of Harṣa for Emperor Tai-Chung of the Tang Dynasty, wrote a book in ten volumes, entitled *Travels in Central India*[19]. Unfortunately, this important work is nowhere to be found today, albeit some fragments of it appear in *Fa-yuan-chu-ling* (The Pearled Forest in the Garden of Supreme Laws)[20], a voluminous compilation of stories related to Buddhism and to the Land of Buddha, edited by Tao Shie, a learned monk of the Tang Dynasty. I am inclined to think that in different sets of *Chun-hsu*, usually in the form of a stupendous series of compiled and collected works, there lies a rich field for multifarious attempts at historical research.

Buddhism, no doubt, supplied the chief inspiration for the cultivation of cultural relations between China and India in old times. Consequently, books by Chinese scholar-pilgrims, which contain the fruits of their study of Buddhism as their main objective, not infrequently shed side-lights upon the various periods of Indian history. For instance, the consecutive series of the famous work *Kao-seng-chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Buddhists), the first series of which was written by Hui Chiao[22] and the second by Tao Hsuen[23], contain various materials on conditions in India, in relation to or told by those Buddhist masters concerned, during various periods from the fifth to the eighth centuries. Chi Pang's *General Records of Buddhist Masters*[24] and Nien Chang's *Chronicles of Buddhist Masters*[25] and some other books of the line can also guide us through the long journey of this research.

Another source to be explored lies not in the works of pilgrims, but in those of historians. Ssu Ma Chien, the Herodotus of Chinese history, was the first to write not only on China proper but also on the Northwestern border regions and the neighbouring countries beyond, and his stupendous work *Shih-chi*[26] (Historical Records) was to serve as an illustrious example of history-writing for later historians, by virtue of both comprehension and comprehensiveness. Following this beaten path, Pan Ku wrote *Han-shu* (History of the Han Dynasty)[27] and Fan Yeh wrote *Hou-han-shu* (History of the Later Han Dynasty)[28], both with chapters on 'countries of the Western region' including at least a part of India. Chapters of similar nature are found in *Wei-shu* (History of the Wei Dynasty)[29] by Wei Siu, *Chiu-tang-shu* (History of the Tang Dynasty)[30] by Liu Hsu and others, *Sin-tang-shu* (A New History of Tang Dynasty)[31] by Ou-Yang Siu and others, and *Sung-shih* (History of the Sung Dynasty)[32] by To-Keh-To and others. In *Sin-tan-shu* there is a section on Kashmir, and in *Sung-shih* a section on India.

Apart from the above-mentioned standard historical works, references to India exist also in works of sub-historical nature, though they treat in the main of institutions, customs, and personages of different Chinese dynasties. Tu Yu's *Tung-tien*[33] (General Institutional History of China), Wang Pu's *Tang-hui-yao* (Essential Records of the Tang Dynasty)[34] and Wang Chin-Yo's *Tse Fu Yuan Kwei*[35] (a huge collection of various works, completed about the end of the 10th century, consisting of 1,000 volumes, under the general editorship of Wang Chin-Yo by order of Emperor Chen Chung of the Sung Dynasty) contain materials of historical interest with reference to India, although they are very much scattered in various parts and would call forth painstaking work in research.

In later ages, with the improvement of the technique of navigation, Chinese travellers began to take to the sea routes to India and more of them were motivated by trade interests than by religious fervour. Indeed, the contact between the southeastern parts of China and the southeastern parts of India

Funding by IKS-MoE

turned to a different aspect of Sino-Indian relations and it was characterized by a lamentable drop in the high intellectual level set by the earlier pilgrims. However, some of the travellers of this period did leave behind their own records; or else we gather their accounts and descriptions of the lands they had visited in the writings by others. Both kinds are still of historical value. In *Sung shih*[36] there is a description of the country of Chu-lien[37], which, by inference of the context, is no other than Chola. *Ming shih* (The History of Ming Dynasty)[38] records Men-ga-li[39] as having diplomatic relations with China in the 6th year of Emperor Yun Lo (1408) and in the third year of Emperor Chen Tung (1438). Men-ga-li was evidently the Chinese version of Bengal. The customs and institutions of Bengal in those days are also delineated in Ma Huan's *Yin-yieh-shen-lan* (Scenes beyond the Seas)[40], Fei Sin's *Sin-cho-shen-lan* (In a Boat Floating toward a Starry Land)[41], and Chen Jen-Sieh's *Huan-ming-shi-fa-lu* (Political and Legal Ordinances of the Imperial Ming Dynasty)[42]. Therein is found Co-Chi[43] State, which is the nearest Chinese translation of Cochin.

In *Ming shih*, the Cape of Comorin is pronounced as Cum-ba-li[44] Marco Polo's Comari is a corruption from Kumari in Sanskrit. According to the records of the early Portuguese settlers in India, the King of Comari had under his aegis the states of Kaulam and Travancore. These coasts witnessed the earliest Chinese fleet paying courtesy visits to India. It was commanded by Cheng Ho[45], who came with a mission to establish contact with the countries in south-eastern Asia.

The above-mentioned sources are simply a few illustrations which may lead to further research and to more fruitful results in the study of Indian history by dint of Chinese materials. Handicapped as I am by a very limited number of books which I have with me in Delhi, I regret that I have not been able to write more than I have done on a subject which I am sure you will agree with me requires any number of references and is, in the nature of things, hardly exhaustible. I should, however, content myself with this much and hope that a straw thus picked up may suffice to show which way the wind blows. Historical research, anyway, exacts very much time, patience, and labour. A true historian shall never overlook tributaries to the stream of history but work on in the ardent belief that such tributaries, insignificant and feeble as they may at first appear, will accumulate by degrees and finally form a strong current in the river bed, carrying the past over to the present. And historical research is a field which yields more, the more it is tapped. Such is the spiritual reward for the historian, apart from his possible contributions to the monumental heritage of human achievements.

1. Hung Chiung 洪 鈞

Supplementary Evidences from Translations for the History of the Yuan Dynasty 元史譯文證補

2. Ko Shao-Wen 柯 紹 忞

3. Tu Chi 屠 寄

4. Fa Hien's Records of Buddhist Kingdoms 法顯 佛國記

5. T'ang Records of the Western Countries 玄奘：大唐西域記

7. Ta-tzu-en-ssu san-tsang fa-shih chuan 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳

Nan-hai-chi-kuei nei fa chuan 義淨 南海寄歸內法傳

9. 梁啟超："一千五百年前之中國留學生"

10. 梁啟超："中國歷史研究法"

11. 慧皎："高僧傳"

12. 義淨："大唐西域求法高僧傳"
13. 道藥自著傳記
14. 寶雲："遊履外國傳"
15. 曇景："外國傳"
16. 法勇："歷國傳記"
17. 慧超："往五天竺國傳"
18. 羅振玉："雲窗叢刊
19. 王玄策："中天竺行記"

20. 道世："法苑珠林"
21. 叢書
22. See note (11)

23. 道宣："高僧傳"
24. 志磐："佛祖統紀"
25. 念常："佛祖歷代通載"
26. 司馬遷："史記"
27. 班固："漢書"
28. 范曄："後漢書"
29. 魏收："魏書"
30. 劉昫等："舊唐書"
31. 歐陽修等："新唐書"
32. 托克托："宋史"
33. 杜佑："通典"
34. 王溥："唐會要"
35. 王欽若等："冊府元龜"
36. See note (32)
37. 注輦國
38. 張廷玉等"明史"
39. 榜葛剌國
40. 馬歡："瀛海勝覽"(見"廣百川學海"中)
41. 費信："星槎勝覽"(見"古今說海")
42. 陳仁錫："皇明世法錄"
43. 柯枝國
44. 甘巴里
45. 鄭和

LOKESH CHANDRA, NEW DELHI (INDIA)

VAIŚRAVAṆA/KUVERA IN THE SINO-JAPANESE TRADITION*

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE NAME

Bishamon = Skt. Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, Pali Vessavaṇa; Tib. rnam-thos-bu, rnam-thos-sras 'son of one who is fully-heard' (that is to say, of the glorious, Skt. Viśravas, name of the father of Kuvera). Other transcriptions are: (1) Beishirabana T 1298, Bisharabana Gog. 19, T 2129.6, which corresponds to Skt. Vaiśravaṇa; (2) but most of the transcriptions correspond to Skt. Vaiśramaṇa: Beishiramana T 1246, Beisharamana T 901.11, Heishiramana T 665.6, T 1246, Beishiramana T 2129.6, Bishiramanō Eog.`1, etc.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME

Name of one of the four Lokapālas (Jap. Tennō). He presides over the north over yakṣas and over riches, war, etc. Most of the translations of his name rest on the Sanskrit name Vaiśravaṇa (root *śru* 'to listen'): the most common form is *Tamon* 'well-heard' which is interpreted in different ways: many people speak of his richness Gog.19, T 2129.6, he oftenl istens to the preaching of the Dharma Eog. 1, T 1721.12. The same interpretations are attached to the translation *Fumon* 'vastly-listened,' *Hemmon* 'heard on all sides' Gog.19, T 2129.6. Gog.19 gives a translation *Rimon* 'separately heard' where the Skt. prefix *vi*° (from which is derived *Vai*°) is taken in a separative sense. Eog. 1 gives a queer gloss on the form Vaiśramaṇa: *Vai* is an exclamation preceding the word *śramaṇa* 'monk'; in the origin this king was termed Kuvera (Kukotsura, correctly Kubira), but he arrived one day donning the robes of a monk to listen to the preaching of the Buddha; and when he entered the assembly of listeners (śrāvaka) they said to one another: 'Vai, śramaṇa! vai, śramaṇa! He! here is the monk, here is the monk!' hence his new name.

REGENT OF THE NORTH

As regent of the north Vaiśravaṇa figures not only in the series of the Four Lokapālas but also in those of the Gods of the Eight Directions (Happōten), among the Twelve Gods (Jūniten), etc. He lives in the north of mount Sumeru on the northern flank of the mountain at mid-height, T 24.6, and 25.6, T 2121.1 (on the summit of Yugandhara, at 42,000 leagues from the earth), T 1644.5

---

*Adapted from the *Hōbōgirin*, ed. Sylvain Lévi and J. Takakusu, Tokyo 1929, s.v. Bishamon, 1.79-83.

(between the two summits of Yugandhara), T 1558.11 (K. Lav. 3.160: on the fourth terrace, at the mid-height of Sumeru, at the level of the summit of Yugandhara, where there are the castles of the Sun and the Moon); or at 1000 leagues to the north of Sumeru T 1.20, or at 4000 leagues T 23.3.

It has three *cities*, a park and a pool whose names differ in the texts: first city, T 1.20 Kai 'redoubtable', T 23.3 Shama, T 24.6 Bisharaba; second city, T 1.20 Tenkyō 'venerated by the gods', T 23.3 Hakaraotsu, T24.6 and 25.6 Gabahattei; third city, T 1.20 Shūki 'all the refuges' (or: 'refuge of assemblies'), T 23.3 Aniban, T 24.6, 25 Adabanta (and compare the following transcriptions designating one of the cities of Vaiśravaṇa: T 310.3 Atabattei, T 1245 Anakabatei, 999 Anakabatei = Skt. Aṭakavatī, Alakavatī; T 982.2, T 2128.11 Anabanta, T 984.1 Atabanta, 985.2 Katabanta, T 190.2 Araka, 190.12 Arakabanta, T 1644.5 Arakamanda.

The name of the *park* is: T 1.20 Kabientō, T 23.3 Kabienta, T 24.6, 25.6 Kabien. The name of the pool is: T 1.20 Narinni, T 23.3 Nari, T 24.6 Natsuini, T 25.6 Nacini (Skt. Nalinī, Naḍinī). Vaiśravaṇa, who is the most important of the Four Kings, alone has a park and a pool (and the other three Kings only one city each); but his residence communicates by flight of steps with those of the other three, who come to visit him and to promenade in his park. T 1644.5 describes in detail his city as well as his kingdom.

It is he who protects the continent situated to the north of Sumeru, Uttaravatī T 397.51, or moreover, to the south of Sumeru, the northern part of Jambudvīpa T 397.52: that is in effect, adds the latter text, in Jambudvīpa where appear the Buddhas, and that is why Vaiśravaṇa keeps vigil over the four kingdoms of Ogamagada, Bōgamagadha, Abanta and Shidai; he has received the mission of Buddha himself: with his 91 sons who traverse the ten directions, mounted on animals, men, women, and with the yakṣas, rākṣasas, kumbhāṇḍas, pretas, piśācas, nāgas, devas, constellations who form his army. He defends Buddhism and reprimands the bad; to the pious he assures five advantages: increment of life, of riches, of health, of pleasure, of fame; but he abandons disciples perverse to royal justice.

In T 2043.6 and T 2042.6 it is from Indra that Vaiśravaṇa receives, after the passing away of Buddha, the mission to protect Buddhism in the region of the north, specially against the attacks of three cruel kings: Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava. And it is in the countries of the north that Hsüan-tsang encountered the cult of Vaiśravaṇa T 2087.1, 12: the great monastery of Balkh was protected by his image, which had miraculously warded the armed attack of a Turk

Funding by IKS-MoE

Khan; and the kings of Khotan claimed descent from Vaiśravaṇa, their first ancestor had been born in front of the statue (on this latter legend, cf. Kse.45). T 2126.2 asserts 'very close' connections that existed between Vaiśravaṇa and Khotan, and claims that his name, Bishamon was taken from one of the names of the country of Khotan, Bishabu. Compare also T 982, 984, 985 (JA 1915, 1.53), which assign as residence to Vaiśravaṇa the country of Tukhāra.

HEAD OF YAKṢAS

He *presides over yakṣas*. Mahāmāyūrī (T 982, 984, 985) mentions him as a yakṣa, in two places, first under the name of Vaiśravaṇa, and then under that of Vaiśramaṇa (JA 1915,1.53 and 58). T 279.67 he is the head of the multitude of yakṣas. T 1644.5 from Yugandhara upto northern Cakravāḍa, all the yakṣas depend on him. In T 1331.4 he pronounces this stanza: at another time cultivating awakening, I became the king of yakṣas for the benefit of beings, to those who dwell in the darkness of ignorance, I open their eyes with my hatchet of gold; and I save them from transmigrations, and elevate them to nirvāṇa. In T 1245, a late text which is specially consecrated to him, he pronounces a sūtra entitled Adanôtei (= Pali Āṭānāṭiyasutta of Dīgha-nikāya 32 which does not figure in the Chinese translations of the Āgamas; cf. also Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, 24 sq.), by the grace of which the disciples of Vaiśravaṇa can defend themselves against those yakṣas dependent on Vaiśravaṇa who are faithless and malevolent. In reality this sūtra treats of the Four Kings, and the fourth, who rules over the north, is designated here Yakṣa Kuvera; he has 91 sons named Taishaku (a name designating ordinarily Devendra Śakra= Indra), who are amenable to Vaiśravaṇa, and who by their example stimulate all the yakṣas to protect the north. In the same text T1245, Vaiśravaṇa pronounces dhāraṇīs destined to subjugate malevolent gandharvas, piśācas, kumbhāṇḍas, pretas, nāgas, etc.

In T 999.1-2 (= Skt. Mahāsāhasrapramardinī), Vaiśravaṇa teaches a dhāraṇī to subjugate yakṣas who seduce men, bewilder them, dement them, devour them: it is me who am their king, he declares, and they adore the holy image placed inside the stūpa which I hold in the hand. In the same text Buddha teaches the 'dhāraṇī of king Brahmā' which enables one to subdue the eldest son of Kuvera, the grand yakṣa Saṁjaya who rides a man, and his other sons Janika, Daimi 'grand demon' and Ufuku 'Jar-belly'. According to T 1509.54 and T 2129.6, at times he presides over yakṣas and over rākṣasas. T 1297: when Vaiśravaṇa is joyous the yakṣas do not hurt men; when he is angry they

Funding by IKS-MoE

cause disorders. T 1.20 (= T 2121.1) and T 24.6 (= 25.6): he is always accompanied by five yakṣas who guard his person: (1) T 1 Hanjarō, T 24 Gojô = Pañcāla; (2) T 1 Dandara, T 24 Kōya 'Brushwood' (this translation corresponds to Skt. Āṭavaka, cf. Atabaku); (3) T 1 Keimabatsuda = Skt. Haimavata, T 24 Konsen 'Mountain of gold' (Skt. hema 'gold'); (4) T 1 Daigera, T 24 Jōshin 'long-body'; (5) T 1 Shuitsuroma, T 24 Shimmō = Skt. Sūciloma. Moreover, according to another list given by Bdjt. 1487: (1) Zenniki, (2) Dokken, (3) Nata = Skt. Naḍa, (4) Skt. Kubatsura = Kubāra, (5) Kanro = Skt. Amṛta.

FAMILY

T 850.2 attributes to him eight brothers, a mother and a grandmother. According to Std. 1 his father is called Rabada or Bananda, and his mother Mitsujaru or Sofu. His eight brothers are none else but the eight yakṣa generals who surround him in the Garbhamaṇḍala. T 1796.5: Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Pāñcika, Śātagiri, Haimavata, Viśakha, Āṭavaka, Pañcāla. The text adds that in ancient times the third Pāñcika was named Sañjaya (for the restitution of these names in Sanskrit compare JA 1915:1). According to the afore-cited T 1245 his brothers are gandharvas. As for his sons the number and the names vary in the texts. The eldest is most often designated Nata = Skt. Naḍa (cf. Naḍakūbara, name of the son of Kubera in Hindu mythology). It is he who had transmitted to the Chinese master Dōsen, a tooth of Buddha stolen from India by the rākṣasas (T 2061). It is recounted in the Zen sect that he broke the bones and tore the hair for reinstating them to his father and mother and then preached the Dharma unto them Gte. 2; but this legend is not attested in the canonical texts Stj. 6. According to Bdjt. 1297 Naḍa has three faces and eight arms; but a ritual which is consecrated to him (T 1297) says that he holds a tooth in his left hand, a three-pointed lance in his right, is of blue black colour, blended with red and tramples on a yakṣiṇī; and according to this ritual Naḍa is not the son of Vaiśravaṇa but his grandson, more precisely the third son of his second son (called Hanshika = Skt. Pāñcika Hmjr 813); he is a terrible demon who protects the state and Buddhism putting down wicked, tearing away their eyes and their hearts, breaking their heads with his baton of diamond, etc.

GOD OF WEALTH

As we have seen in many of the passages cited before, Vaiśravaṇa is often identified with Kubera, the Hindu god of riches; under this title he presides over riches (cf. Kubira). In T 397.52 he is regularly designated under the double name Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa (Kubira-Bishamon); and while the Aśokāvadāna T 2042.6 terms him Bishamon, the corresponding passage of Aśokasūtra T 2043.6 names him Kubira. His wealth is proverbial: the fortune of a gṛhapati of Rājagṛha is compared to his T703; T279.77 compares the Zennu (kalyāṇamitra) to Vaiśravaṇa, the dharma to his treasures, the practices to his fortunes and once again in T 279.78 the spirit of awakening to Vaiśravaṇa which suppresses the suffering of poverty. In T 190.12 he is termed the 'proprietor of the grand depository of treasures' daikozōshu; in T 201.2 (tr. Hüber 59), Indra and Vaiśravaṇa are cited as generous rich persons. In a story of T 202.4 he appears to lay woman Upasenā (or Mahāsenā) at the moment when she recites the Dharmapada on the top of her house: she hears a voice in the air; it is Vaiśravaṇa who goes to Virūpākṣa, accompanied by his thousand yakṣas; he says to Upasenā: if I give you celestial joys what will you do with them; I am going to give you a good boon……

Ekottarāgama (T 125.26) narrates the history of Keizu 'head of the cock', a brahmin who was very poor to offer food to the Buddha and his followers who were invited to Kapilavastu, having been expelled by the local cofraternity of Brahmins. He borrowed money from a notable of the city, and promised that he could be sold as a slave for paying the debt. The brahmins accepted his money, but refused to lift the pronounced expulsion. On the order of the Buddha, Indra and Vaiśravaṇa went to his assistance. Vaiśravaṇa sought in the Sandal Forest a grand cuisine where his 500 yakṣas prepared the meals for the Buddha. He sent to the brahmin a bar of gold which when flung to the ground was transformed into a hundred thousand ounces of gold. With this gold the brahmin purchased the food cooked by the yakṣas, and could offer a magnificent feast to the Buddha, to his monks and to all the arhats who were miraculously present.

In the Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra T 665.6 (this passage is lacking in the other recensions T 663 and 664; a very late special sūtra T 1244 is based on this text), Vaiśravaṇa teaches the Cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī, which when pronounced according to certain rites, makes appear before the faithful the son of Vaiśravaṇa, Zennishi (T 1244 Shanisa). He asks the faithful: why have you invoked my father? The faithful replies: I want riches for offering to the Triratna. Vaiśravaṇa enjoins his son to assure to the faithful a daily endowment of hundred kārṣāpaṇa (T 1244 'pieces of gold'). The faithful can offer them to the Triratna and alms to the poor. Then the Devarāja adds: if the faithful wishes to see me in person while he finishes the image of Buddha (T 1244:

Funding by IKS-MoE

Śākyamuni preaching the Dharma), with Kichijoten = Śrī to his left and myself to his right, and all kinds of assistants of both sexes.... While he performs certain rites before this image, pronounces a long dhāraṇī......, then I appear before him in the form of a young person or of an old mendicant monk (T 1244 of a lay person) holding a cintāmaṇi (T 1244 in my right hand) and a bag of gold (T 1244 a box of gold in my left hand) and grant all his wishes, and make him rich......

GOD OF WAR

And finally, Vaiśravaṇa was venerated in China and Japan as a *god of war.* T 1248 gives a dhāraṇī entitled 'Dhāraṇī of Devarāja of the north, Vaiśramaṇa, who watches over armies for protecting the Dharma': if one pronounces this dhāraṇī before an image of Vaiśravaṇa—which represents the Devarāja under his terrible aspect, dressed in armour plate, holding a lance in his left and his right resting on his hip, a stūpa which he offers to Buddha Śākyamuni, and treading on two black yakṣiṇīs—he sends his third son Naḍa to the side of those who direct their troops for the protection of their country; or still, if one covers the armour plate of his image with the powder of gold and offers him perfumes, flowers and other offerings while pronouncing the dhāraṇī a hundred thousand times, he himself takes the command of his celestial troops and goes to support his devotee, to whom he assures victory; or furthermore, if one recites nonstop day and night he delegates his heir-prince Dokken at the head of celestial troops; or still one can suspend his image on a staff and carry it as a banner fifteen paces in front of the army which will render the enemy ineffectual.

A ritual of the same title T 1247 very specifically consecrated to Naḍa, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies; only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country. It refers to the troubles which burst forth in Central Asia in the end of the reign of Hsüan-tsang during the T'ang dynasty and by the "Five Kingdoms" are intended the five foreign people who besieged the city of Anhsi. The incident is reported in details in the 'Ritual of Vaiśravaṇa' T 1249 (= T 2126.2 whose text is more correct): in the first year of T'ien-pao 742 A.D., the five kingdoms of Seiban= Tibet, Daiseki=Arabs, Kōko=Sogdians, and others besieged the city of Anhsi. On the second day of the second moon, a report was presented to the Emperor demanding relief troops. The Emperor said to master I-hsing: Professor, the city of Anhsi is besieged by Arabs and others and it requires troops. But as it is situated at a distance of 12000 leagues, it will take eight months for my troops to arrive there, and I do not know what to do. —I-hsing replied: Why does Your Majesty not invoke to your aid the Devarāja of the north, Vaiśravaṇa, with his celestial troops? — How can I invoke him? — By the intervention of the Serindian monk Daikōchi (T 2126 and Std.1 Amoghavajra). —The Emperor sent word to this monk who invited him to provide an incense-burner and follow him to the monastery. The monk pronounced a dhāraṇī (taken from T 246, adds T 2126) twenty-seven times. The Emperor then saw hundreds of soldiers in arms and the monk explained to him that they were the troops of Dokken the second son of Vaiśravaṇa, who had come to take charge before departure for Anhsi. In the fourth month he received a report from Anhsi, declaring that, on the very day of the ceremony they saw appearing in the north-east of the city, the envelopings of an obscure haze, of giants dressed in armour plates of gold; they heard an uproar of drums and of horns, and experienced a violent trembling of the earth. The troops of the five kingdoms, frightened, retired to their camps, where rats of gold gnawed the strings of their bows and of their traps. A voice in the sky enjoined to spare the old and the feeble, who could not flee away. Then Vaiśravaṇa manifested himself in person on the northern gate of the city. They drew his image which was appended to the report addressed to the Emperor. In consequence of these events, continues T 2126.2, an imperial edict directed all its provincial functionaries to place in the north-west angles of cities, images of Vaiśravaṇa and of his assistants, and all the Buddhist monasteries to consecrate a special edifice to him. Since then, this text which dates to the tenth century adds, it has been a usage in the prefectures to make offerings to Vaiśravaṇa on the first of every lunar month, while executing chants and dances: this is what is termed *rakutennō* 'rejoicing of the Devarāja'.

T 1249 citing the words of the same monk Daikōchi (Amoghavajra), gives a monthly programme of deeds and exploits of Vaiśravaṇa: on the first day of every lunar month he makes a reunion with the gods and demons; on the second day he takes leave of his second son Dokken who departs on a tour of inspection; on the 15th day, he makes a reunion with three other devarājas; on the 12th day he exchanges a stūpa with his son Naḍa: on this day one should offer glutinous rice with milk or with honey.

In mediaeval Japan, Vaiśravaṇa was the patron (Mamori honzon) of warriors who received now and then in their infancy the surname of Tamommaru, as was the case of a celebrated hero of the 14th century, Kusunoki Masashige.

In Mantrayāna, his bīja is VAI, his symbolic form the baton or the stūpa,

Funding by IKS-MoE

numerous are his dhāraṇīs: the most usual is simply his name preceded by *Namo.* His principal mudrā is as follows: the ring fingers are raised one against the other, the index fingers are bent like hooks, the other fingers are intersecting inside the palm T 1244; but there are several other mudrās.

ICONOGRAPHY

Vaiśravaṇa is figured in Japan like an armoured warrior; his attributes are generally a baton (daṇḍa) and a stūpa. This type confirms to the following texts: T 1244 on the palm of his left hand he holds a stūpa which he beholds, and in his right hand a baton. T 1293 (colour blue black, dress red, hair violet). T 1298 adds that his body is golden, he is armoured, standing on two demons and flanked by two goddesses offering him flowers (fig. Kakuzenshō 6.2244). T. 908 omits the goddesses (Asabashō 6.2026). It is this latter type which is reproduced in the maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu (north portal of the exterior vajrāvalī) and of the Vajradhātu (where Vaiśravaṇa presides over yakṣas in the west); his seat is always a lotus instead of the two demons and the armour differs in the two maṇḍalas (Bzss. fig. 327-328).

Often the baton is replaced by a long lance, generally with triple points and a pennant: T 1248 he holds in his left hand a lance, his right is placed on his hip; he treads on two black yakṣiṇīs and offers a stūpa to Buddha Śākyamuni. T 901.11 his left hand holds a lance, his right a stūpa (fig. Kakuzenshō 6.2242; it is under this aspect that he is generally figured in the popular series of the seven divinities of good luck, Shichifukujin; compare also the statue preserved at Hōryūji, where he treads a unique demon). T 1246 he holds in his left a lance with three points; his right is on his hip (fig. Asabashō 6.2026; this type is preserved at Kuramadera near Kyoto, a temple consecrated to Vaiśravaṇa; cf. Renondeau, BEFEO 26.259 sq.). This text and T 1251.1 mention a type holding a stūpa in the left and treading on three yakṣas of which the central is either Goddess of the Earth (Pṛithvī, Jiten), or Vināyaka (Binayaka), the other two are identified as Biramba and Niramba. Compare T 1203: he is mounted on a demon, holds a stūpa in the right and rests the left on the hip.

Other attributes: T 1067 stūpa in the left, sword in the right, armour, young face, coiffure of jewels, angry aspect. T 1068 stūpa in the left, vajra [club] in the right, colour violet. T 951.1 lance in the left, vajra in the right. Kakuzenshō 6.2241 (fig. 2243) lotus in the left, triple-pointed lance in the right, golden body, armour, sabre; a red bird in the coiffure. T 926 his body is green and he holds a fork.

Funding by IKS-MoE

In the *Lamaist* tradition, Vaiśravaṇa holds a banner in his right hand and in his left a rat spitting jewels (Grünwedel, Myth. 181).

In *China*, modern usage attributes to him a banner and a stūpa, perhaps a compromise between the Chinese classical tradition attested by the texts cited above and preserved in Japan (cf. also BEFEO 25.440 sq.) and the lamaist tradition.

Aberrant types. In the Taimitsu sect (esoteric branch of Tendai) the rite called Hūṁkhaḍaya (cf. T 2151) is celebrated in honour of a 'Double-bodied Vaiśravaṇa' (Sōshin Bishamon) who is a combination of Vaiśravaṇa and the goddess Kichijōten/Śrī, Asabashō 6; the two personages are represented back to back, with red faces and three eyes, black dress, armour; one holds a vajra, the other a cakra (fig. Asabashō 6.2046). This iconographic type known in Japan since 1264 (Asabashō 6.2047) seems to be connected with the text of T 665.6 where Vaiśravaṇa is associated with Śrī; moreover, Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī figure frequently side by side in the esoteric texts, for example, T 1249, T 850 etc. Later, the two personages were considered as the metamorphoses of Vairocana, on the one hand in the Garbhadhātu and on the other in the Vajradhātu, their combination symbolising the identity of the two dhātus (Hmjr. 892).

Tobatsu-Bishamon is a form of Vaiśravaṇa who appeared to the king of a country of Tobatsu or Topara, Asabashō 6.2028-2029; he is represented either under the normal aspect of Vaiśravaṇa, holding a stūpa in his left hand, standing on the Goddess of the Earth who sustains his feet and is flanked by two demons (statue of Tōji of Kyoto, Bdjt. pl. 97; cf. above the text of T 1246); or astride a lion, and with four heads and ten hands of which eight hold sabres (tōhachi for tobatsu; fig. Bdji. 3517).

Another form with ten hands is mentioned in Asabashō 6.2054-5, which goes back to the 11th century: the skin is red, the dress black; two of the ten hands are joined, the others hold, to the left: (1) stūpa (2) bell (3) cakra (4) arrow and the string, to the right: (1) sickle (2) sabre (3) bow (4) vajra.

LITERATURE CITED

The following texts have been cited above by numbers of the titles in the Taishō edition of the Sino-Japanese Tripiṭaka. Their titles, translators and date of translation is indicated below:

T 1 (Nj 545) Dīrghāma, tr. Buddhayaśas and Fo-nien in 412-413

Funding by IKS-MoE

T23 (Nj 551) *Lokadhātu-sūtra, tr. Fa-li and Fa-chü during the Western Tsin dynasty (265-316)
24 (Nj 550) Kisekyō, tr. Jñānagupta (523-600)
25 (Nj 549) Kisekyō, tr. Dharmagupta (in China 590-616)
125 (Nj 543) Ekottarāgama, tr. Dharmanandin in 384-385
190 (Nj 680) Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra, tr. Jñānagupta in 587
201 (Nj 1182) Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, tr. Kumārajīva in 405
246 (Nj 965) Kāruṇikarājasūtra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
279 (Nj 88) Avataṁsakasūtra, tr. Śikṣānanda in 695-699
310 (Nj 23) Mahāratnakūṭa, tr. Bodhiruci in 713
397 (Nj 61) [Mahāvaipulya-mahā]sannipāta-sūtra, tr. Dharmarakṣa (w. 265-313)
663 (Nj 127) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, tr. Dharmarakṣa
664 (Nj 130) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra
665 (Nj 126) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, tr. I-tsing (635-713)
703 (Nj 720) *Śreṣṭhiputra-Dīpāṅguli-avadāna, tr. Kumārajīva
850 Shōdaigiki, tr. Śubhakarasiṁha
892 (Nj 1060) Hevajra-[ḍākinījālasambara]tantra, tr. Fa-hu during 1004-1058
901 (Nj 363) Dhāraṇīsaṅgraha, tr. Atikūṭa in 653-654
908 (Nj 1443) *Yoga-homa-kalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
926 *Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabharāja-sapta-buddha-kalpa, tr. Bhadrapāla and Sharapa (in China 1311-1314)
951 (Nj 532) *Ekākṣara-Cakravarti-sūtra, tr. Bodhiruci in 709
982 (Nj 307) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
984 (Nj 308) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. Saṅghavarman in 516
985 (Nj 306) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. I-tsing in 705
999 (Nj 784) Mahāsāhasrapramardinī, tr. Dānapāla during 980-1000
1067 Shōdaigiki, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1068 *Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara-kalpa, tr. Śubhakarasiṁha during 716-735
1203 Fudōanchinki
1244 (Nj 849) Vaiśramaṇa-sūtra, tr. Fa-t'ien during 973-981
1245 (Nj 974) *Vaiśramaṇa-sūtra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1246 *Vaiśravaṇadhāraṇīkalpa. tr. Prajñācakra during 847-860
1247 *Vaiśravaṇakalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1248 *Vaiśravaṇamantra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1249 *Vaiśravaṇakalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771

T1251 *Hum-kaḍaya-kalpa, tr. Vajrabodhi (in China 719-741 var. 731)
1293 Jūrokuzenjinnō-gyōtai, tr. Vajrabodhi (in China 719-741 var. 731)
1297 Kuyō-jūni-dai-toku-ten-hō-ombon, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1298 *Dvādaśadevakalpa
1331 (Nj 167) Saptatathāgatapūrvapraṇidhānaviśeṣavistara, tr. Śrīmitra (worked 317-322)
1509 (Nj 1169) Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, tr. Kumārajīva in 402-405
1558 (Nj 1267) Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya of Vasubandhu, tr. Hsüan-tsang in 651-654
1590 (Nj 1240) Viṁśatikā Kārikā of Vasubandhu, tr. Hsüan-tsang in 661
1644 (Nj 1297) *Lokasthiti-abhidharma-śāstra, tr. Paramārtha in 558
1721 Hokke-gisho, tr. Ki-tsang (549-623)
1796 Daishō, a commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra by I-hsing (683-727)
2026 (Nj 1465) Sensan-zō-gyū-zō-zō-kyō 'Record of the collection of Tripiṭaka and Saṁyukta-piṭaka', tr. under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420)
2042 (Nj 1459) Aśokarājāvadāna, tr. Fa-chin (w. 281-306)
2043 (Nj 1343) Aśokarājasūtra, tr. Saṅghavarman in 512
2046 (Nj 1460) Life of Aśvaghoṣa, by Kumārajīva in about 405
2061 (Nj 1495) Memoirs of eminent priests, compiled by Tsan-ning in 988
2087 (Nj 1503) Records of the Western World, written by Hsüan-tsang in 646
2121 (Nj 1473) A collection of extracts on different subjects from sūtras and vinaya works, compiled by Sang-min, Pao-ch'ang and others in 516
2126 So-shi-ryaku, by Sannei (w. 977-1001)
2128 Erin-ongi, by Huei-lin of Kashgar (737-820)
2129 Zoku-issaikyō-ongi, by monk Hi-lin (Jap. Kirin) who worked around 1090
2151 (Nj 1487) A record of the pictures of the events of ancient and modern translations of the sūtras etc., compiled by Ching-mai (Jap. Seimai) in 664-665.

ABBREVIATIONS

Asabashō, by Jōchō (1205-1282), Dai-nihom-bukkyō-zensho, Tokyo, 1913-1921.
Bdji. = Bukkyō-dai-ji-i, compiled by the Buddhist University of the Nishi-Honganji at Kyoto, Tokyo, 1914-1922.
Bdjt. = Bukkyō-dai-ji-ten, by Oda Tokunō, Tokyo (Ōkura shoten), 1917.
Bzss. = Butsu-zō-shin-shū, by Gonda Raifu and Ōmura Seigai, Tokyo (Heigo-sha), 1919.
Eog. = Eon-on-gi, by Huai-yuan of the T'ang dynasty, Tokyo ed. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 41.10.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Gog. = Gennō-on-gi, by Hsuan-ying (ca. 650), Tokyo ed. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 39.6-7.

Gte. = Gō-tō-egen, by P'u-tsi of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.11.1-4.

Hmjr. = Hi-mitsu-ji-rin, ed. Tomita Kōjun, Tokyo (Kajisekaisha), 1911.

Kakuzenshō, by Kakuzen (12th cent.), Dainihom-bukkyō-zensho, Tokyo, 1913-1921.

Std. = Sho-ten-den, by Hing-t'ing of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.23.2.

Stj. = So-tei-jion, by Chan-k'ing of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.18.1.

T = Taishō edition of the Sino-Japanese Tripiṭaka.

JOHN L. MISH, BRONXVILLE, N.Y. (USA)

THE MANCHU VERSION OF THE AMITĀYUS-SŪTRA

SHORT HISTORY AND BRIEF GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MANCHU LANGUAGE

Manchu is a Tungusic language, the only one to have developed a written literature. Its original home was Manchuria. Its oldest form was Jurcen, the language of the Chin dynasty in North China (1125-1234). In 1599 the Mongol alphabet (derived ultimately from the Syriac) was adopted, and improved in 1632. Manchu became the court and army language of the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty of China (1644-1911), and the vehicle of a considerable literature. However, most of this is translated from Chinese, except for military reports and archives, in which Manchu was the original version until the end of the 19th century. Government documents were bilingual throughout the period. As a spoken language, Manchu died out in China proper by the beginning of the 19th century, but remained alive in some isolated border areas (Ili and the Amur region). Its present extent is not known exactly; there have been reports that one its dialects is still spoken in the Amur region of Manchuria.

In its grammatical structure it resembles Mongol: the noun is not inflected except for occasional plural particles. The verb is inflected for tense and mood, but not for person. Sentences are long with the principal verb always at the end. Other grammatical relations are expressed by particles and postpositions.

Pronunciation. c = ch, but c = ts before i. j as in English, but dz before i. š = sh. oo = ow in 'how'. h = Scotch ch.

Vowel harmony. This law means that in the same word only front vowels (e) or back vowels (a, o, û) can occur; i and u can be used with either group. Thus many endings occur in two or three forms: past tense ha, he, or ho: bihe, oho, araha.

Main particles. -i (genitive); -be (accusative); -de (locative); -ci (ablative).

Main verbal endings. Verbs in dictionaries are given in the -mbi form (finite present tense)

-ha (he, ho) = past tense (in some verbs -ka, ke, ko)
-ra (re, ro) = participial present
-me = adverbial present gerund (Hindi = karke)

Funding by IKS-MoE

-fi = adverbial past gerund (Sanskrit -tvā)
-ci = conditional (if, when)
-cibe = concessive (although)
-ki = optative; -ki sembi = to want, wish, intend
-kini or pure stem = imperative
-ngge = noun endings for adjectives and verbs
-rakû = negative present
-hakû (hekû) = negative past
-habi (hebi, hobi) = perfect

The genitive precedes the governing noun; there is no relative pronoun, which is replaced by participial constructions. There is no conjunction 'that'; an independent sentence introduced by seme = saying, is used instead.

Funding by IKS-MoE

TRANSLITERATION OF THE MANCHU TEXT OF THE AMITAYUS-SUTRA

Enetkek gisun de: a ri ya a ba ra mi da ayur dzaniyana nama ma ha ya na suu dra. (Āryāparimitāyur-jñāna nāma mahāyāna sūtra).

Tanggût gisun de: epaks ba tze dang ye šese dabak do met ba šese bya ba tek ba ciyan boi mdo.

Manju gisun de: Fucihi nomulaha enduringge mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni sere gebungge amba kulge i nomun.

Nikan gisun de: Fo šo da ceng šeng u liyang šeo giowei ding guwang ming wang ju lai to lo ni ging.

Fucihi nomulaha enduringge mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni sere gebungge amba kulge i. nomun.

Uttu seme mini donjiha. emu forgon de jalan i wesihun Fucihi Sirawasdi hecen i han i jui Dzida i ilhai hafan Nanda Bindadi i eiten be urgunjebure kûwaran de emu minggan juwe tanggû susai amba bikcu sa i emgi tembihebi. gemu efujen akû gûnin hafuka umai ehelinggu cisu akû beyei tusa be baha mujilen umesi ukcaha geren i sara takara amba arhat; geli sure ulhisu onco amba gungge erdemu ferguwecuke yangsangga, arbungga yongsu yooni yongkiyaha. geren wesihungge Fusa amba Fusa sa, nomun be donjire jalin gemu isanjihabi. gubci isan i dorgide amba sure nesuken horonggo Fusa amba Fusa ujulahabi. tere fonde Šigiyamuni Fucihi jidere unde jalan i eiten jalgan foholon geren ergengge be jilame gosime, jalgan jalafun nonggibume amba tusa jirgacun bahabume, gûnime akûnarakû narhûn somishûn umesi šumin ferguwecuke wesihun nomun nomulaki seme jalan i wesihun Fucihi amba sure nesuken horonggo Fusa de amala suwe kimcime donji! ere julergi Dzambu Tib i wargi ergi mohon akû Fucihi gurun be dulefi, emu jalan jecen bi. gebu mohon akû gungge erdemu niyamangga sembi. gurun i ba na ferguwecuke saikan; hacingga boobai hiyaganjame miyamime bolgo boloko umesi wesihun elhe nelhe icangga sebjen. juwan dere ci colgorome tucifi somishûn ferguwecuke ujui uju ohobi. tere mohon akû gungge erdemu niyamangga jalan jecen i dorgide emu Fucihi bi. gebu mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe delesi akû unenggi hafuka bodi sembi. ne tere jalan jecen i dorgide tefi, amba jilan gosin deribufi, geren ergenggei jalin ferguwecuke nomun be badarambume nomulame umesi wesihun tusa jirgacun elhe sebjen be bahabumbi. Fucihi geli nesuken horon-

TRANSLATION OF THE MANCHU TEXT

The holy sūtra of the Great Vehicle, called Dhāraṇī of the all-wise king of infinite life, the Tathāgata Buddha, as preached by Buddha.

Thus have I heard: Once upon a time, the world-honored Buddha was staying in the pleasure grove of Anāthapiṇḍika, the flower garden of Jeta, son of the king of Śrāvastī, together with 1250 great bhikṣus. All of them were great arhats who understood all, whose minds were freed of all thoughts of personal gain, without evil or selfishness and with imperishable penetrating hearts. They also were full of wisdom, and their merits and virtues were wonderful and splendid, and their form and behavior were absolutely perfect. All the revered and great Bodhisattvas had assembled to hear the preaching of the sūtra. The entire meeting was headed by the great wise compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas. At that time the Buddha Śākyamuni had not yet come, and the life span of all sentient beings was short. Thus the world-honored Buddha in his compassion added a long life, letting the sentient beings get ease and profit. Then, wanting to preach the unthinkable, secret, and very profound wonderful superior sūtra, he said to the great, wise, compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas: Listen and examine! To the west of this southern Jambudvīpa, after passing through infinite Buddha-lands, there is one world. Its name is "Center of the Infinite Power of Merit". The territory of this world is wonderfully beautiful; all kinds of treasures are piled up there; it is clean and clear, and abounds in peaceful joy full of ease. Of all the ten directions it is the outstanding, the most secret and wonderful. In this world of the Center of Infinite Power of Merit there is one Buddha whose name is: All-wise King of Infinite Life, Tathāgata, Profound True Spiritual Insight (Sanskrit: anuttarā samyak-sambodhi).

Now staying in that world, and starting from his great love and compassion, he proclaims a wonderful sūtra for all sentient beings, and thus lets them have great profit and peaceful joy. Buddha also announced to the compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas: From now on in this world of Jambudvīpa man's life span will be one hundred years. Those who commit evil deeds will die prematurely. If all sentient beings see such an all-wise King of Infinite Life, such a Tathāgata, and if they see the superior power of merit of his dhāraṇī sūtra, or if they hear his name and title, they must bring offerings to the

Funding by IKS-MoE

ggo Fusa de alame: te ere Dzambu Tib jalan jecen i dorgi niyalmai jalgan tanggû se banjimbi. erei dorgi eiten ehe weilen deriburengge labdu ofi, geli aldasilarangge bi. nesuken horonggo Fusa en, aika geren ergengge enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun i gungge erdemu umesi wesihun be sabure, jai gebu colo be donjire oci, embici beye bitheleme arame, embici weri be ere nomun be bitheleme arabume šanggabufi, beyei boo ûlen de ocibe, den taktu de ocibe, bolgo boo deyen tinggin i dorgide ocibe, sindafi alifi urebume hûlame šejileme gingguleme dahame dorolome hengkileme hacin hacin i ferguwecuke ilha, dabure hiyan ufa hiyan i jure hiyan ilha labari i jergingge be tukiyefi, mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun de jukteme doboci acambi. udu jalgan foholon niyalma seme aika unenggi mujilen i bitheleme arafi alifi urebume hûlame šejileme jukteme dobome dorolome hengkileme muteci, enteke niyalma, geli jalgan jalafun nonggibufi tanggû se jalumbi. geli nesuken horonggo Fusa en, geren ergengge enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i gebu colo be donjifi, aika unenggi mujilen i ere emu tanggû jakûn hergen i tarni hûlame muteci, udu jalgan foholon geren ergengge seme geli jalgan jalafun nonggibumbi. embici damu terei gebu colo be donjifi, unenggi mujilen i akdafi alifi urebure wesihuleme ujelere ohode, enteke niyalma inu bahafi jalgan jalafun nonggibumbi. geli nesuken horonggo Fusa en, aika urkuji giodatala mujilen dartai andande seme waliyarakû unenggi gûnin i ferguwecuke nomun be baire sain fulehengge juse, sain fulehengge sargan juse, bici, si kimcime donji! bi te mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i emu tanggû jakûn hergen i tarni nomulaki: tarni gisun:

om na mo bha ga wa da a ba ra mi da ayur dzaniya na su bi ni štse da de dzu ra dza ya da ta ga da ya a rha da sa myak sam bu ddha ya da dya ta om bu nye bu nye ma ha bu nye a ba ri mi da bu nye a ba ri mi da bu nya dzaniya na sa bha ro ba tse dạ om sa rwwa sam sga ri ba ri šut dhe dha rmma da ga ga na sa mut ga da sowa ba wa bi šut dhe ma ha na ya ba ri ba re sowa ha (om namo bhagavate aparimitāyur-jñāna-suviniścita-tejorājāya tathāgatāya arhate samyak-sambuddhāya/tadyathā om puṇye puṇye mahāpuṇye aparimita-puṇye aparimita-puṇya-jñāna-sambhāropacite/om sarva-saṃskāra-pariśuddha-dharmate gagana-samudgate svabhāva-viśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā).

nesuken horonggo Fusa en! enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i emu tanggû jakûn hergen i tarni be ememu niyalma beye bitheleme arame embici weri be ere terni be bitheleme arabufi den taktu i ninggu de ocibe, embici deyen tanggin i dorgi bolgo bade ocibe, sindafi nomun

dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata of superior wisdom and infinite life, by presenting various beautiful flowers, incense for burning, perfume for spreading, perfumed powder, flowered canopies, and the like; and furthermore, by practicing bowing, kowtowing, reciting, reading, and worshipping after putting this sūtra in its place—whether in their own house, or in a high tower, or in the hall of a pure building; and furthermore, they should copy the sūtra either themselves, or have it copied completely by somebody else. Even if a man has a short life span, but if he can with a truthful mind write this sūtra, and practice reading and reciting it; if he can bow to it, kowtow to it, and offer it sacrifices—such a man will have his life span increased until one hundred years are completed. In the same way, oh compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas, if any sentient being hears the name and title of the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the Tathagata, and can read with a truthful mind the dhāraṇī of 108 letters, such a sentient being, though with a short life span, will have his life extended. Or even if he only hears the Buddha's name and titles and with a truthful mind trusts him and practices reverence and respect, such a man also will have his life lengthened. And, oh compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas, if a man has sons and daughters of good origin, who ask for this wonderful sūtra with a truthful mind frequently and for a long time, without suddenly giving up, then listen and examine! I will preach to you the dhāraṇī of 108 letters of the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the Tathāgata. Here are the words of this dhāraṇī: (Here follows the Sanskrit text as given in the transliteration part. A translation of this text follows): Om. Hail to the Holy King of Light who has infinite life and is completely resolved on knowledge, the Tathāgata and Arhat, the Fully Enlightened Buddha (as this. Om) Meritorious, meritorious, greatly meritorious, of infinite merit, charged with a heap of infinite meritorious knowledge. Om. Purified from all saṁskāras, risen to heaven in his natural condition, completely pure by nature, surrounded by great misery, Amen (svāhā).

(Translation of Manchu version continued): And oh! Compassionate and majestic Bodhisattvas! If any man writes himself, or makes another write the sūtra of 108 letters of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, whether on a high tower or in a pure place in a great hall, and if, after putting down the sūtra, he makes night offerings to it and adorns it wonderfully, then such a man, though of short life, will obtain a long life until one hundred years are completed. Such a man, when he later dies at this place, is born into the eternal, virtuous, intimate world of the Buddha Tathāgata, the

i songkoi ferguwecukei yangselame hacin hacin i jukteme dobori oci, jalgan foholon niyalma seme geli golmin jalgan bahafi tanggû se jalumbi. enteke niyalma amaga inenggi ere bade ergen dubehe manggi, uthai bahafi tere mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i mohon akû gungge erdemu niyamangga jalan jecen i dorgide banjinambi. Śigiyamuni Fucihi enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulara erinde, uyunju uyun jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī as above).

tere fonde geli jakûnju duin jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī).

tere fonde geli nadanju nadan jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli ninju ninggun jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli susai sunja jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli dehi duin jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli gûsin ninggun jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli orin sunja jirun Fucihi inu emu mujilen i uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

tere fonde geli juwan g'angg'a birai yonggan i ton i gese jirun Fucihi inu meimeni mujilen encu akû uhei enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun nomulame hendume: (Follows the same Sanskrit dhāraṇī)

ere tarni nomun be geli ememu niyalma beye bitheleme arara, eici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma amaga inenggi na i gindana de tuhenerakû, omihon hutu de tuhenerakû, ulhai duwali de tuhenerakû, ilmun

All-wise King of Infinite Life. When the Buddha Śākyamuni preaches the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, 990 million Buddhas also recite this dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text follows as above).

At that time, 840 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 770 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 660 million Buddhas recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 550 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 440 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 360 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, 250 million Buddhas also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, unanimously and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

At that time, as many tens of millions of Buddhas as there are grains of sand in ten Ganges rivers, also recite the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, each with the same mind and all together: (The same Sanskrit text again follows).

If a man by himself writes out this dhāraṇī sūtra, or makes another write it, such a man in his later days will not fall into hell; nor will he fall among the hungry demons (preta); nor will he fall among the beasts; nor will he fall into a secret trial for evil deeds in the world of King Yama. He will not receive a bad karma for a bad life path in all eternity. Such a man, by the force of acquiring merit by writing down this dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathagata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, will obtain the penetrating wisdom (prajñā) of preceding generations at each birth. If such a man

Funding by IKS-MoE

han i jecen, ehe weile butui fafun de tuhenerakû enteheme ere geren ehe jugûn de ehe karulan be alirakû. ere niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be bitheleme arara gungge erdemu i hûsun i turgunde, amaga eiten banjire ba jalan jalan de nenehe jalan i hafu sure be bahambi. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara, embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma uthai tere jakûn tumen duin minggan nomun i niyaman be bitheleme arafi baha gungge erdemu ci umai encu akû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be geli ememu niyalma beye bitheleme arara, eici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma uthai tere jakûn tumen duin minggan boobai subarhan ilibufi baha gungge erdemu ci umai encu akû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma uthai sunja jaka akû na i gindana i weile bikini, ere gungge erdemu i hûsun de terei weile gemu mayame geterembi. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma ari i da jai ari i hûncihin duwali de tuhenerakû, yakca rakca i jugûn de tuhenerakû. jalgan waka bucere gukure de tuhenerakû; enteheme hacingga ehe šanggan i karulan be alirakû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara, embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma ergen dubere hamika erinde uyunju uyun jirun Fucihi, terei juleri iletulefi, enteke niyalma be okdonjifi, terei Fucihi gurun i dorgide banjinambi. suwe ume kenehunjere! enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma jidere unde jalan de enteheme hehe i beye banjirakû. enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be embici beye bitheleme arara embici weri be bitheleme arabure oci, enteke niyalma be dergi erg'i G'andarwa ejen gurun be karmatara abkai han, julergi ergi Ginnara ejen colgoroko fiyangtahûn abkai han, wargi ergi amba muduri ejen onco yasangga abkai han, amargi ergi amba yakca ejen ambula donjiha abkai han, tesei beyebe daldame somifi enteheme dahalame karmatame dalimbi. geli ememu niyalma enteke nomun i jalin heni majige ulin boobai fulehun buci, ere niyalma uthai ilan minggan amba minggan jalan jecen de jalukiyaha aisin menggun beiduri duna marimbu wehe šuru boisile i jergi nadan boobai be yooni fulehun buhe adali. geli ememu niyalma enteke nomun bithe de jukteme

Funding by IKS-MoE

by himself writes down, or makes another write this dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, then he is not at all different from one who copied 84000 sūtras, in his acquisition of merit. If a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man is not at all different from one who acquired merit by building a pagoda for 84 000 treasures. If such a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man, even if he be in hell without substance for his crimes, will be freed from all guilt by virtue of such a merit. If such a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man will not fall into the category of demon chiefs or their relatives; he will not fall into the ways of the rākṣasa and yakṣa devils. He will not be involved in dying and perishing without having lived. He will never obtain the karma of having done all kinds of evil. If a man by himself writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man, when his end approaches, will be met by 990 million Buddhas who will appear before him, and will be born in Buddha's land. Do not doubt it! If a man writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man will never be born with the body of a woman in any future generation. If such a man writes down, or makes another write the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha Tathāgata, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, such a man will be eternally covered and hidden and protected by the Heavenly Lord who protects the land of the Gandharva Lords in the east; by the excellent, able-bodied Heavenly Lord of the Kinnaras in the south; by the large-eyed Heavenly Lord of the Great Dragon in the west; and by the much-hearing Heavenly Lord of the Great Yakṣa in the north. Furthermore, if a man gives alms from a little of his property and treasure for the sake of this sūtra, it will be the same as if he had given alms of the seven treasures to fill up the 3000 worlds, viz. gold, silver, sapphires, chalcedon, agate, coral, amber. Moreover, if a man makes offerings to this sūtra, it will be as if he had offered them to every true and real sūtra; and if a man grasps the very precious seven treasures and presents them to Śākyamuni Tathāgata with his uṣṇīṣa, who saves all those who perceive clearly, destroys the worlds of misery, (Krakucchanda Buddha), and guards the golden light; if he can offer them to the true Tathāgata Buddha who has vanquished his enemies— the virtue and happiness of such a man can-

Funding by IKS-MoE

doborongge bici, uthai eiten yargiyan unenggi nomun i niyaman de jukteme doboho adali. geli ememu niyalma umesi wesihun nadan boobai be jafafi, hafu bulekušere giyolonggo geren be aitubure jobolon jalan be efulere, aisin mutehe elden be tuwakiyara Śigiyamuni ineku jihe bata be etehe unenggi hafuka Fucihi de jukteme dobome muteci, bahara hûturi erdemu be kemneme bodoho seme terei ton be same muterakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun de jukteme doboci, bahara hûturi erdemu be inu kemneme bodoho seme terei bilagan kemun be same muterakû ombi. geli duin amba mederi de muke terei dolo fiheme jalufi tere sabdan i ton be bahafi same muterakû adali. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akŭ jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be bitheleme arafi jukteme dobome alifi urebume hûlame šejileci, bahara hûturi erdemu be inu kemneme bodoho seme, terei bilagan ton be same muterakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun i bisire ba be bitheleme araci, uthai geren Fucihi i yargiyan beye šaril boobai subarhan be šanggabume mutebuhe de ombi. giyan i ujeleme wesihuleme dorolome hengkileci acambi. aika ergengge šan de enteke tarni be donjihangge oci, ere geren ergengge enteheme deyere gasha duwali bethe, labdu bethenggei encu duwali i beye banjirakû ombi. jidere unde jalan de bedercerakû delesi akû unenggi hafuka bodi be hûdun šanggabume mutebumbi. geli ememu niyalma aisin menggun beiduri duna marimbu wehe šuru boisile i jergi nadan boobai be iktambume asarame Sumiri alin i adali obufi wacihiyame fulehun bume muteci, bahara hûturi erdemu be kemneme bodoho seme, terei ton be saci ojorakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafy surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun i jalin fulehun bume muterengge bici, bahara hûturi erdemu be inu kemneme bodoho seme, terei bilagan ton be same muterakû ombi. geli ememu niyalma enteke mohon akû jalafungga hafu surengge han ineku jihe Fucihi i tarni nomun be bitheleme arafi dorolome hengkileme jukteme doborongge bici, enteke niyalma uthai juwan derei geren Fucihi i juktehen geren ineku jihe Fucihi de dorolome hengkileme jukteme doboho ci umai encu akû safi jalan i wesihun šigiyamuni Fucihi irgabume hendume: urebume dasame fulehun buhe hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. fulehun buhe hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai fulehun bume jature undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûsun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame targacun tuwakiyaha hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi, aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de

not be measured or counted. Furthermore, if a man makes offerings to this dhāraṇī sūtra of the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the Buddha Tathāgata, the happiness and virtue he obtains become of unknown duration. And furthermore, as one cannot know the number of drops with which the water of the four seas is filled—so also if a man writes down the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, offers it up, practices, reads, and recites it— the happiness and virtue of such a man cannot be measured or counted, and its duration cannot be known. Moreover, if a man copies a passage of the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, he has completed a pagoda for the relics of the true bodies of all Buddhas. This must be fittingly revered, respected, honored with ceremonies and kowtows. If all sentient beings listen to such a dhāraṇī, these sentient beings will never be born with many feet or with the feet of a bird. They will not return into the cycle of births during future generations, and will quickly acquire the deep, true, penetrating enlightenment (anuttarā samyak-sambodhi). Furthermore, if a man could collect and store the seven treasures: gold, silver, sapphire, chalcedon, agate, coral, and amber, and if he made a heap of them as high as Mount Meru, and gave all of them in alms, one could not know the amount of the resulting happiness and virtue by measuring and counting. Similarly, if a man can give alms for the sake of the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, the resulting happiness and virtue will be beyond measure and of unknown duration. Furthermore, if a man writes down the dhāraṇī sūtra of the Tathāgata Buddha, the All-wise King of Infinite Life, and reveres it with ceremonies and kowtows and offers it up, such a man will not at all be different from one who reveres with ceremonies and kowtows and presents offerings to all Tathāgata Buddhas in all Buddhist temples. The world-honored Buddha Śākyamuni will then say with a smile: By practicing repeatedly alms-giving, you will achieve your goal. By giving alms, you acquire strength to become a Buddha. If one enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears this dhāraṇī with his ears, such a man, though not yet full of alms-giving, becomes a teacher to the powerful people of heaven. By repeated practice he obtains the power of abstinence and by the power of abstinence (śīla) he becomes Buddha. If he enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of abstinence, quickly becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By repeated practice and suffering he obtains perfection, and by the force of suffering becomes Buddha. If a man enters the pure land of great

dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai targacun tuwakiyame jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame kirime yabuha hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. kirime yabuha hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai kirime yabume jalure undengge seme, tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame kiceme ibehe hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. kiceme ibehe hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai kiceme ibeme jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame samadi tokton i hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. samadi tokton i hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai samadi tokton jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. urebume dasame sure ulhisu i hûsun de šanggabume mutebumbi. sure ulhisu i hûsun de bahafi Fucihi ombi. aika amba jilan i bolgo gurun de dosifi šan dartai andande enteke tarni be donjici, uthai sure ulhisu jalure undengge seme tenteke niyalma hûdun abka niyalma de sefu ombi. Fucihi ere nomun nomulame šanggafi amba bikcu sa jai geren Fusa eiten jalan i abka niyalma Asura G'andarwa sa Fucihi i nomulaha be donjifi, gemu ambula urgunjeme sebjeleme hing semealifi dahame yabumbi. mohon akû jalafungga Fucihi i tarni nomun.

VOCABULARY

Enetkek—India, Sanskrit, gisun—language, word, Fucihi—Buddha, nomulambi - to preach, enduringge—sacred, holy, mohon—end, akû—not; without, mohon akû—infinit, jalafungga—of long life, hafu—penetrating, sure (ngge) - wise, han—emperor, king, ineku jihe—Tathāgata, jimbi—to come, ineku - this, the same, thus, tarni—dhārṇī, gebungge - having the name of, amba—great, big, kulge—vehicle, amba kulge—Mahayana, sembi—to say; sere - called, named, uttu—thus, mini—genitive of 'bi'="I', donjimbi—to hear, emu—one, forgon - season, jalan—generation; world, wesihun - honored, hecen - town, city, jui—son, ilha—flower, yafan—garden, eiten—every, all, urgunjebumbi—to gladden, kûwaran—enclosure, minggan—thousand, juwee—two, tanggû—hundred, susai—fifty, bikcu—monk, bhikkhu (bhikṣu), sa—plural particle, i emgi—with, tembi—to sit, dwell, stay, efujen—destruction, gûnin—mind, thought, hafumbi—to

compassion and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī sūtra, though not yet full of suffering, he soon becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By force of repeated practice and progressive effort, perfection can be achieved. By this power of progressive effort such a man becomes Buddha. Then, if he enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his hears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of progressive effort, becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By repeated practice one attains perfection in meditation, and by the force of meditation, such a man becomes Buddha. If he then enters the pure land of great compassion, and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of meditation, soon becomes a teacher to the people of heaven. By practice and correction one obtains perfection by the force of transcendent wisdom, and by the same force one becomes Buddha. If a man enters the pure land of great compassion and suddenly hears with his ears this dhāraṇī, such a man, though not yet full of transcendent wisdom, soon becomes a teacher to the people of heaven.

When Buddha had finished preaching this sūtra and when the great bhikṣus and all Bodhisattvas, the heavenly host of all worlds, the Asuras and Gandharvas had heard the Buddha's preaching, all rejoiced very greatly and received it attentively, and followed it.

The dhāraṇī sūtra of the Buddha of Infinite Life.

---

penetrate, umai akû—not at all, ehelinggu - wicked, cisu - selfish, beye—body; self, tusa—profit, bahambi—to obtain, receive, mujilen—mind, heart, umesi - very, greatly, ukcambi - to be freed, escape, geren—all, sambi—to know, takambi—to be acquainted with, geli—also, ulhisu—understanding; intelligent, onco—wide, vast, gungge—merit, erdemu—virtue, power, ferguwecuke - wonderful, miraculous, yangsangga—beautiful, arbungga—having form (rupavan), yongsa - rite, custom, yooni—all, entirely, yongkiyambi—to complete, wesihungge—revered, honorable, Fusa—Bodhisattva, nomun—sūtra, jalin—for the sake of, isanjimbi—to come to assemble, gubci—all, isan—assembly, nesuken—gentle, compassionate, horonggo—majestic, ujulambi—to head, preside, tere fonde—at that time, jidere unde—not yet come, jalgan—life span, foholon—short, ergengge—sentient being, jilambi—to pity, gosimbi—to love, jalafun—long life, bahabumbi—to let have, grant, nonggibumbi—to add, increase, jirgacun—ease, comfort, gûnin akûnarakû—unimaginable, narhûn—secret, somishûn--concealed, hidden, šumin—deep, profound, amala—behind, after, kimcimbi—to examine, ere—this, julergi—southern, wargi ergi—west, gurun—land, country, dulembi—to pass through, jalan jecen—world, niyamangga—interior, center, ba—place, na - earth, ba na—territory, saikan—beautiful, hacingga—various, all kinds of, boobai-treasure, jewel, hiyaganjambi—to be piled up in heaps, miyamimbi - to adorn, decorate, bolgo—pure, boloko—clean, elhe nelhe - peaceful, icangga—fitting, proper, sebjen—joy, juwan—ten, juwan dere—the 10 directions, i.e., N, NE, NW, S, SE, SW, W, E, above and below, colgorombi – to excel, uju – head, ujui uju—the very first, ombi – tobe, become, delesi akû—not superficial, unenggi—true, bodi—bodhi, delesi akû unenggi hafuka bodi—anuttara-samyak-sambodhi, ne - now, jilan—compassion, gosin—love, deribumbi—to begin, start, badarambumbi—to extend, expand, elhe—peace, te—now, alambi—to announce, report, se—year (of age), banjimbi—to become, be born, live, i dorgi - in, inside, weilen—deed, work, ehe—bad, evil, labdu—much, many, aldasilambi—to die prematurely, en—oh!, aika—if, enteke—such, sabumbi—to see, gebu—name, colo—title, embici—or, bithelembi—to compose a book, arambi—to write, weri—another, arabumbi—to cause to write, šanggabumbi – to complete, boo—house, boo ûlen—house and home, den – high, taktu—tower, deyen tinggin—hall, sindambi - to put, alimbi—to receive, accept, urebumbi - to practice, hûlambi – to read, šejilembi—to recite, ginggulembi - to honor, worship, dahambi—to follow, dorolombi—to bow ceremoniously, hengkilembi - to kowtow, hacin hacin i—all kinds of, dabure hiyan—incense for burning, ufa hiyan—perfumed powder, ijure hiyan – perfume for spreading, labari—canopy, jergingge—of that sort, tukiyembi—to present, offer, juktembi—to offer sacrifices, dobombi—to offer ceremoniously, acambi—one must, udu—although, mutembi—one can, jalumbi—to be full, complete, jakûn - eight, hergen – letter of the alphabet, tere—that (one), damu—but, only, akdambi—to trust, wesihulembi—to honor, revere, ujelembi—to treat respectfully, ohode (at end of sentence)—if, urkuji—often, goidatala—for a long time, dartai andande—all at once, waliyambi—to throw away, give up, baimbi – to ask for, juse - sons (plural of jui), sargan juse—daughters, fulehen—root, origin, bi—I, myself, ememu—some, i ninggude—on, upon, i songkoi—according to, yangselambi—to adorn, dobori—night, golmin—long, amaga—later, inenggi – day, ergen—life, dubembi—to end, manggi – after (conjunction at end), uthai—then, banjinambi—to be born, uyun—nine, uyunju - ninety, erin—hour, jirun - ten million, uhei – together, hendumbi—to speak, tell, jakûnju—eighty, duin—four, nadanju—seventy, nadan—seven, ninju - sixty, ninggun - six, susai—fifty, sunja—five, dehi—forty, gûsin—thirty, orin—twenty, G'angg'a—Ganges, bira—river, yonggan—sand, ton—number, i gese—like, as, meimeni--each, encu - difference, encu akû—the same, eici—or, gindana—prison, na i gindana—hell, tuhenembi - to fall, omihon—hungry, hutu—demon, ghost, omihon hutu—preta, ulha—beast, cattle, duwali—category, class, ilmun han – King Yama, jecen—border, territory, weile - crime, misdeed, butui—hidden, secret, fafun – law, prohibition, punishment, enteheme—eternally, jugûn—way, path, karulan - requital, *karma*, hûsun—power, i -turgunde—because, nenehe—previous, tumen—ten thousand, niyaman—heart, interior, subarhan—pagoda, ilibumbi—to build, erect, jaka—things, object, bimbi—to be, mayambi—to diminish, geterembi—to get rid of, ari—devil, demon, hûncihin—kinsman, relative, yakca rakca—yakṣa rakṣa, waka - there is not, it is not, bucembi—to die, gukumbi—to perish, šanggan—act of committing, hamimbi – to draw near, approach, i juleri—before, in front, iletulembi—to appear, okdonjimbi—to come to meet, suwe—you (plural), ume—do not! kenehunjembi—to doubt, hehe – woman, ejen—lord, master, karmatambi—to protect, julergi ergi - south, fiyangtahûn - strong, wargi wergi—west, muduri—dragon, yasa – eye, onco yasangge - big-eyed, amargi ergi—north, ambula—large, much, daldambi - to conceal, somimbi—to hide, dahalambi—to accompany, dalimbi—to cover, veil, heni—a little, majige—a little, ulin—goods, wealth, fulehun—alms, charitable gift, yargiyan – true, jalukiyambi—to fill, complete, jafambi—to grasp, seize, bulekušembi—to look, reflect, giolonggo—having an ushnisha, aitubumbi - to save, rescue, jobolon—misfortune, efulembi—to destroy, elden—light, splendor, tuwakiyambi—to guard, bata—enemy, etembi—to vanquish, hûturi—luck, kemnembi—to measure, bodombi—to calculate, bilagan—term, mederi—sea, muke—water, dolo—inside, fihembi—to fill, sabdan—drop, bisire - present participle of bimbi, šaril—relic, giyan i—properly, deyembi – to fly, gasha—bird, bethe—foot, bedercembi—to go back, return, hûdun – fast, quickly, iktambumbi – to accumulate, asarambi—to store up, Sumiri alin – Mount Sumeru, wacihiyame - entirely, juktehen—temple, irgabumbi—to smile with eyes, dasambi— to correct, dasame—again, sefu—teacher, abka—heaven, niyalma—man, human being, targacun—abstinence, tenteke—such, kirimbi - to suffer, yabumbi – to do, šan—ear, samadi—samadhi, tokton— fixed determination, urgunjembi—to rejoice, sebjelembi—to rejoice, hing sembi—to be serious, attentive.

MOCHIZUKI

VAIROCANA IN THE JAPANESE TRADITION

(translated from Mochizuki, *Bukkyo-daijiten*, 4.3343seq.)

Dainichi is the translation of the Sanskrit word Mahāvairocana. The Tibetan name is Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad-chen-po. He is also Ma-ka-bi-ru-sha-na nyo-rai, Ma-ka-bi-ru-sha-na butsu, and Bi-ru-sha-na butsu. He is translated as 'Shining all over Tathāgata', 'Shining all over divinity'. He is therefore the Tathāgata with all the virtues of all categories. He is the Lord who preaches Esoteric Buddhism. In the first chapter, the Dwelling-mind chapter, of the Vairocana-sūtra, it is said: "at a time Bhagavān dwelt in a vast vajra-dharmadhātu palace adhiṣṭhāna-ed by Tathāgata (. . .) and preached the dharma. Because His teaching is beyond three times, it is the dharma of the equality of the body-word-mind". It is also said in the Vajraśekhara-sūtra-yoga-bhāvana-vairocana-samādhi-dharma: "Adoration to Vairocana Buddha. The acts of the body, word and the mind pervade the sky and preach the very profound teaching of Vajra-ekayāna of the tri-guhya". It means that Vairocana Tathāgata's three kinds of acts pervade the sky and preach the dharma of the equality of the tri-guhya. The commentary of the Vairocana-sūtra explains the above—quoted sentence of the Vairocana-sūtra as: "When the sūtra says that Bhagavān dwells in the Tathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna, Bhagavān is the transcendental dharmakāya of Vairocana Buddha. The Tathāgata is the adhiṣṭhānakāya of the Buddha. His dwelling place is called the sambhogakāya of the Buddha. This body (sambhogakāya) is the dwelling place of adhiṣṭhāna of the Buddha. Tathāgata is the king of mind, He dwells in it. He is produced from the adhiṣṭhāna power that pervades everywhere. He is not two nor other than the formless dharmakāya." "The guhya-adhiṣṭhāna of the body, word, and mind is the field that is entered. The secret mudrā of body-equality, mantra of word-equality, the excellent view of mind-equality are the expedient (upāya), so the adhiṣṭhāna-sambhoga-kāya is visualised. Such a body of adhiṣṭhāna-sambhoga is the body of Vairocana that pervades all." It means that there are two kinds of body' the essential dharma-kāya and adhiṣṭhāna-sambhoga-kāya. The essential dharma-kāya points to the highest status realized by the Tathāgata and the adhiṣṭhāna-sambhoga-kāya points to the Lord of the preaching, and these two bodies are after all not two. Chapter 1 of the commentary of the Vairocana-sūtra explains the meaning of the two bodies. The real phase of the śabda is the samādhi of the Tathāgata, because the dharma is so and so whether there may be Buddha or not, does not flow. This is the essential dharma-kāya. It is expected to give the dharma-kāya to all the sentient beings, free marvellous power, give adhiṣṭhāna to the śabda that is natural. So this śabda is the body of Buddha-adhiṣṭhāna. The adhiṣṭhāna-kāya becomes followers' body and are everywhere. It should be known, when the śabda is adhiṣṭhāna-ed, it is the case. Therefore, the yogin should visualize the śabda in his mind, to see the adhiṣṭhāna-kāya of the Buddha. If he sees the adhiṣṭhāna-kāya, he sees the essential dharma-kāya. If he sees the essential dharma-kāya, it is the yogin himself". Thus the real truth is the essential dharma-kāya, and the śabda seen by sentient beings is the adhiṣṭhāna-kāya. In the work entitled 'The Essentials of the 37 Divinities of Vajraśekhara-yoga' these two kāyas are arranged to the two virtues of deciding-jñāna. "One gets the result of the pure body, word and mind, by way of discipline. This is identified with the true body pervading the dharma-dhātu. It is deciding virtue. The discipline comprising good dharma comprises all good dharmas. It is jñāna-virtue. This is accomplished sambhoga-kāya of Vairocana Tathāgata. The features are adorned and brilliant and is on the summit of Mount Sumeru. He is the Buddha who preaches the Mahāyāna-sūtra to the bodhisattvas".

The first chapter of the commentary on the Naya-sūtra says: "Vairocana Buddha is named 'brilliant-everywhere'. He is Sambhoga-kāya Buddha, dwelling on the summit of the fourth dhyāna on top of the Rūpadhātu and who has attained the samyak-sambodhi. He explains four kinds of sacred wisdom realised by himself and explains the bodhi of the four wisdoms." In this way the deciding virtue is the essential dharma-kāya and wisdom-virtue is adhiṣṭhāna-sambhoga-kāya. The work entitled 'The Essentials of the 37 Divinities of the Vajraśekhara-yoga' regards Vairocana as the mūla-jñāna and explains: "By means of the six kinds of expedients the dharma-kāya enters the tri-mogha-vimukti-paryāya. The vimukti-paryāya of the void, non-form, and non-aspiration means the mogha of all the dharmas. There is nothing that is not true, nothing that is not veritable. They are really void but real, they are perfectly true. The guhya-mantra is recited. This is the perfect wisdom of Vairocana Tathāgata." "Because the three phases are void, he enters the dharma-paryāya of mokṣa. When this reason is realized, there is produced a light on the body, and it pervades the dharma-dhātu. It is identical with the wisdom of Vairocana." It is said in the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-yoga-kalpa: "it is called ultimate wisdom of upāya. It has the meaning of nirmāṇa-kāya. In the process of progress, the expedient (upāya) is ultimate. It is the wisdom attained afterwards, it is the dharma-kāya". Because the fundamental proper wisdom is the true wisdom realized by himself, it is the svabhāva-kāya, while the wisdom attained afterwards is temporary wisdom to instruct others, so it is the adhiṣṭhāna-kāya. The Vajradhātu symbolizes wisdom, so Vairocana in it is jñāna-dharma-kāya and Garbhadhātu symbolizes reason, so Vairocana Buddha in it is reason-dharma-kāya. Vol. 2 of the Jōōshō by Dōhan says: "Vairocana of Garbhadhātu is reason-dharma-kāya and Vairocana of Vajradhātu is jñāna-dharma-kāya." In the article of the four kinds of dharma-kāya in the list of Mantrayāna is said: "Because the dharmas of the dharma-dhātu are tranquil, natural and changeless, they are called reason-dharma-kāya. In other words, it is the fourfold circular maṇḍala of the Garbha-maṇḍala. When all the dharmas pervade each other to be identical, they are called jñāna-dharma-kāya. It is Vairocana Buddha in the Ekamudrā-maṇḍala in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala". Although reason and jñāna (wisdom) are distinguished, these two are after all inseparable. In the case of Vairocana Buddha, reason and wisdom are not two, and among the five kinds of dharma-kāya it is viśuddha-dharma-kāya. In the seventh chapter of Vairocana-sūtra, the chapter on increasing the advantage and protection of pure deeds, it is said as follows: "May the ordinary people forsake the body of much suffering and get to immaculate place, and dwell in the pure dharma-dhātu-kāya." It is said in the Ryakujutsu-Vajraśekhara-yoga-funbetsu-shōi-shushō-hōmon-kyō: "The 37 jñāna is necessary to realize svasambhoga-kāya samādhi. It is said in the gāthā-chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra: svabhāva, sambhoga and nirmāṇa-kāya and 36 Buddha-virtues are identical with svabhāva-kāya. They form 37 including dharma-dhātu-kāya." It means that Vairocana Tathāgata is dharma-dhātu-kāya that comprises everything. He is allotted to dharma-dhātu-jñāna among the Five Wisdoms. It is said in the Kongōchō (Vajraśekhara) yuga (yoga) sanjūshichison (37 divinities) shusshō (birth) gi: "He is represented as dharma-dhātu-jñāna-svabhāva-kāya. He is Vairocana Tathāgata in the stūpa." It is also said in the Rishu-shakkyō: "Permanent Vairocana Buddha Tathāgata of kaya-vāṅ-manaḥ-karma means the viśuddha-dharma-dhātu-jñāna of the Tathāgata. It is inherent since beginningless time. It never abates even if it comes in contact with kleśa, and it never increases even if it corresponds to the pure dharma and proves the purity." In short, Vairocana Tathāgata is the highest in Esoteric Buddhism. He is the origin of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, fundamental virtue that is prevalent in universal aspects.

Garbha-maṇḍala represents many divinities in the fourfold circular compartments, and the Tattvasaṅgraha explains the phases of Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva who attains the sarva-arthas. The doctrine of Vairocana Buddha is explained in the following scriptures: Avataṁsaka, Samantabhadra-Bodhisattva-sūtra, Bodhisattva-śīla-sūtra, the Nirgrantha-sūtra, Brahmajāla-sūtra, etc. In the second chapter on Vairocana in the old Avataṁsaka-sūtra, the lofty character of the Buddha is explained and the phase of Padma-kośa-alaṁkāra-loka-samudra is explained. But Vairocana Buddha in Esoteric Buddhism comprises all the thoughts and explains the essence, phases and the activities minutely.

The figures are not the same in the Vajradhātu and Garbha maṇḍala. In the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, Ekamudrā-maṇḍala and Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (the central maṇḍala), the body of Vairocana is white, has jñāna-muṣṭi-mudrā and a crown with Five Buddhas and is seated in padmāsana in the centre. His esoteric title is 'Shining-all-over-vajra'. The bīja is *vaṁ*, and the samaya symbol is a stūpa. In the Garbha maṇḍala Vairocana Buddha has yellowish golden colour, wears white cloth, is in dharma-dhātu-dhyāna-mudrā, wears a Five Buddha crown, and is seated on the central padmāsana. His esoteric title is the same as in the Vajradhātu. His bīja is *a* or *āḥ*. The samaya symbol is a stūpa or Tathāgatoṣṇīṣa-mudrā. Vairocana Buddha in the Vajradhātu is identical with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣavijaya, Mahā-uṣṇīṣavijaya, and Vairocana in the Garbha maṇḍala is the same as Vikiraṇoṣṇīṣa, Buddhalocanā, etc. Their statues are not different from Vairocana in the two dhātus.

In Japan statues of Vairocana were made in abundance with the advent of Esoteric Buddhism. Vairocana of Garbha-maṇḍala is 1 jō 8 shaku in height, is established in the big pagoda of Kongōbuji monastery at Koyasan. Vairocana of the Vajradhātu is 8 shaku in height, and is put in the precious stūpa at Koyasan. A huge stone statue, 50 shaku in height, that was carved in the early Heian period, is at Tashibu village, Kunisaki-gun, Bungo province. It is recorded that a wooden statue of Vairocana, 8 shaku high, was seated in the Lecture Hall of Enryakuji monastery of Hiei-zan. The statue was made in the first year of Tenchō. In the 7th year of Tenchō, priest Gishin made a 16 shaku high statue with golden colour. It is recorded in the Jingoji-ryakuki that in the fourth year of Tenchō, they painted a maṇḍala of Ekamudrā Vairocana. In chapter 30 of the Fusō-ryakuki it is recorded that in the first year of Shōryaku, Tathāgata Vairocana 32 shaku high, was worshipped in the golden temple of Hōshōji. Under February of the first year of Chōshō of the Chūuki it is written

Funding by IKS-MoE

that they established two stūpas, eastern and western stūpas of Hōjōji and Vairocana of Vajradhātu in the western pagoda, and Vairocana of Garbha maṇḍala, 4 statues each were established. The Tōnomine-ryakki says that a golden statue of the same Buddha, 5 shaku in height, was put inside the three-storied pagoda at the desire of Fujiwara-no-motofusa in the first year of Shōan. Many books write that statues of Vairocana were established in Lecture Hall of Tōji, Lecture Hall of Jingoji, the main temple of Kangakuji, Kojima-san, the abhiṣeka-temple of Toji, the Ratna-stūpa, Kajūji and Anjōji.

The following statues have been declared National Treasures at present: Toshōdaiji: Yamato, Ryōzenji: Yamato, Shōrenji: Yamato, Enjōji: Yamato, Tokiwaji: Yamato, Kōryūji: Kyoto, Kwannondō: Ōmi, Daizenji: Ōmi, Ishiyama-dera: Ōmi, Shōfukuji: Ōmi, Fukushōji: Ōmi, Dainichirō: Ōmi (Yasa), Chōshōji: Ōmi, Kōfukuji: Ōmi, Dainichidō: Ōmi (Higashi-Asai), Shōrakuji: Ōmi, Kongōbuji: Koyasan (two statues), Shakamon-in: Koyasan, Anyo-in: Koyasan, Yakushidon: Koyasan, Kawaiji: Osaka, Kongoji: Osaka, Kōzenji: Osaka, Gokobuji: Hyōgo, Shochōji: Hyōgo, Nakayama-dera: Hyōgo, Mudō-ji: Hyōgo, Daikokuji: Hyōgo, Shitennōji: Ise, Myōfukuji: Ise (two statues), Kenkō-in: Ise, Kannondō: Tosa (two statues), Dainichiji: Tosa, Chikurinji: Tosa, Enshōji: Echizen, Matsuzaki-jinja: Suo, Otsuhōji: Echigo, Kokubunji: Echigo, Hōkōji: Kai, Ōzōji: Mino, Chūsonji: Rikuchū, Tenjin shrine: Izu. There are also wooden statues. There are paintings on silk such as, in Kongōbuji at Koyasan, Zenjūin at Koyasan, and Chōgenji at Echizen. The temple where the statue of Vairocana is enshrined is called a Vairocana temple. There are many Vairocana temples The Vairocana temple of Seisuiji, Shinao was built in the second year of Einin. It is 5 ken square, with one storey covered by four sloping roofs thatched with reeds. The temple as well as the statue of Vairocana are national treasures but they were burnt down in the fifth year of Taishō.

Vairocana Buddha is described in the following books: chapter 2 of Daijorishu-ropparamitsu-kyō, chapter9 of Shugokokkai-shudarani-kyō, introductory chapter of the Yugi-kyō, chapter 1 of the Shobutsu-kyōgai-shōshinjitsu-kyō, chapter 2 of the same kyō (sūtra), chapter of drawn figures of the Sonshō-bucchō-shū-yuga-giki, chapters 4, 16 and 20 of the commentary of Vairocana-sūtra, chapter 2 of the Kōdaigiki, the Hizōki, chapter 2 of the Kenmitsu-mikkyōron, the Dainichi-kyō-kaidai by Kōbō Daishi, no. 2 of the Shingonshū-kyōji-mondō, chapter 1 of the Zuzōshō, no.2 of the Shosetsu-fudōki, chapter 1 of the Ishiyama-shichishū, chapter 1 of the Kongōkai-shichi-shū, the Dainichikyō-kyōshu-honjikaji-funbetsu (by Gōhō), the Dainichikyō-shugi (by Donjaku). Further refer to the article on Birushana in this Dictionary. It follows hereafter.

BIRUSHANA = VAIROCANA (Mochizuki 5.4367-4369)

Sanskrit name Vairocana, Tibetan name: Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad. It is spelt in Chinese: Birushana, Birōshana, Beiroshana. He is termed in full Birushana Butsu (Buddha), Birushana Nyōrai (Tathāgata),also called Rushana Butsu or simply Shana. The name is translated 'shining all over', 'light that shines all over', or 'pure and full', 'three-karma-fulfilled', 'very wide and splendid and pure'. He is a sambhogakāya or dharmakāya of the Buddha. The description of Vairocana in Avataṁsaka, Brahmajāla-sūtra and Samantabhadra-sūtra and Vairocana-sūtra has differences.

It is said in the Old Avataṁsaka (chapter 2 on Rushana Buddha): "Many Bodhisattvas having seen this light, can see the Padmagarbha-alaṁkāra-loka-sāgara. With the prestige of the Buddha he recites gāthās in the light. He practiced merits in the sea of countless kalpas, he venerated all the Buddhas in the ten directions, he edified the sea of countless sentient beings and thus he attained Enlightenment. He emanates great brilliance in the ten directions, he issues clouds of incarnations from the pores of hairs. He cultivated sentient beings according to their capacity, enabling them to attain the pure path of expediency. Being among birth and death, the Buddha conquered all the sentient beings and enables them to be delivered in one instant. The heroes of the world are countless and they get freedom. They have profound and pure creed, they have fulfilled Pāramitās. Their number is the same as the number of sea-dusts. They are solid and stabilized in all powers. They issue delicate sound that pervades the ten directions. They have real wisdom and fulfill many minds. They edify sentient beings with countless expediency. [omission] The mahā-jñāna-sāgara of Vairocana is full of light without measure. He observed the dharma of the true truth and give light on all dharmas." Thus it is said that Vairocana Buddha practiced merits in immeasurable kalpas and attained Enlightenment. He dwells in the Padma-garbh-ālaṁkāra-loka-sāgara. He emanates great light in the ten directions. He emanates cloud of incarnations out of many pores of hairs. He manifested sea of immeasurable sūtras.

It is said in the first chapter of the Brahmajāla-sūtra: "I performed mental phases in hundreds of asaṅkhyeya kalpas. It was the cause that I abandoned the status of ordinary man and attained Samyak-sambodhi. I am called Rushana (Rocana) and I dwell in Padma-garbha-loka-sāgara. Around the capris of the lotus there are thousand petals, now one petal is one world, they come to a thousand worlds. I am incarnated into a thousand Śākyamunis dwelling in the thousand worlds. There are in the world of one petal ten thousand millions of Sumeru, ten thousand millions of sun and moon, ten thousand millions of four worlds, ten thousand millions of Jambudvīpa, ten thousand millions of Bodhisattva Śākyamuni who are seated under ten thousand millions of Bodhi trees, preaching the mental phases of Bodhisattvas whom you ask".

It is said in the Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-caryā-dharma-sūtra as follows: Śākyamuni is called Vairocana who pervades everywhere, and the dwelling place of this Buddha is called 'Ever-silent-light'. It is the place where nitya-pāramitā is realized, where ātma-pāramitā is stabilized, where sukha-pāramitā extinguishes vedanā and saṁskāra, where śuddha-pāramitā does not dwell in the body and mind, and where the asti and nāsti of the aspects of dharma are not seen". This means that Vairocana is a kāya that pervades everywhere and dwells in the land of Ever-silent-light that is realized by the four pāramitās i.e. nitya, sukha, ātma and śuddha.

The appellation of Vairocana is found for the first time in chapter 22 of the Saṁyukt-āgama: "all the darkness is destroyed, and the light shines in the ākāśa. It is Vairocana, and pure light appears". This seems to regard the sun as Vairocana. Later the theory of Vairocana in Avataṁsaka sūtra was produced. In the beginning of the following sūtras there is the expression 'namo mahājñāna-samudra-Vairocana-buddhāya': Buddhacarita, the Sūtra preached by the Nigaṇṭhaputra, the Mahāyāna-catur-dharma (translated by Śikṣānanda). It is said in chapter 2 of the Mahāyāna-samaguṇa-sūtra: "all the dharmas of śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and Buddhas, all the dharmas pour into the great sea of jñāna-garbha of Vairocana". Later Mahāvairocana-sūtra called Mahāvairocana, i.e. Great-Sun Tathāgata and regarded him the entity of total dharma-dhātu.

As to the meaning of the term Birushana (Vairocana) it is said in the third chapter of the Tangenki of the Avataṁsaka: "Rushana has been translated fulfilling the three karmas. It is also said pure and full or vast and pure. Now let us think of the Sanskrit text, it is called Birushana (Vairocana). Rushana is translated 'shining of the light'. Bi (vai) means 'pervade'. So it is called 'the light that pervades'. Thus Vairocana is regarded to have the meaning of 'the light that pervades everywhere'. It is also said in chapter 1 of the commentary of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra: "The Sanskrit name Vairocana is another name of the sun. It has the meaning of 'removing darkness and shining wide'. It is said in the commentary on chapter 16 the varga of the initiation into the esoteric maṇḍalas: "The meaning of Birushana has already been interpreted, but I will interpret once more. The so-called Birushana is the sun. The sun can remove darkness, and awaken all things in the world, and enable all sentient beings to do deeds. So also Dharma-kāya Tathāgata. So he is named by a simile. But there is direction in the case of the sun: while it gives light to the outside, it does not give light to the inside. When the light is on one side, it does not reach the other side. In daytime the sun shines but the light does not reach at night. But the Sun of the Tathāgata is not like this. It gives light both inside and outside. There is no distinction of direction, and day and night. The light is constant. If all sentient beings are when this Sun rises, they increase the good merits of all the Tathāgatas and perform the deeds of the Tathāgatas. The sun of this world cannot be a complete simile. The similarity is only partial. So the Buddha is prefixed with the word mahā". Thus Birusha is regarded as a name of the sun.

It is said in the first chapter of the Kongōchōgyō-giketsu (the commentary on Tattvasaṅgraha): "Birushana in Sanskrit is translated in Chinese 'The highest wide-eye Tathāgata! *Bi* means the highest, and *rushana* means wide-eye. Formerly it was translated 'shining everywhere king Tathāgata' or 'the Great Sun Tathāgata'. But this translation is not full and lacks some meaning. This Tathāgata is named Buddha-Bodhisattva-cakṣu/netra-Tathāgata, or matrix of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. He is also called Buddhas-Bodhisattvas- the highest-wide-pure-garbha (depository) because Buddhas and Bodhisattvas can see clearly by him and they are born in the Tathāgata and all the sages and saints dwell in the Tathāgata". Thus *Bi* is regarded to mean the highest and *Rushana* to mean depository of wide eye.

Let us consider the term Vairocana. Rocana is derived from the root *ruc* that means 'shine or give light to'. The prefix *vi* is added to *ruc*. Thus it means 'that which belongs to the sun' or 'the son of the sun'. The translation 'shining everywhere' or 'the light that shines everywhere' seems to depend on this meaning. Virocana is a term that consists of *rocana* with the prefix *vi* meaning 'that which is shining'. Thus it means the sun or the sun-god. It is because of this meaning that the commentary of the MahāVairocana-sūtra regards Birusha as a name of the sun. Rocana means 'brilliance' or 'shining light'. It comes by the omission of the prefix of Virocana or Vairocana regarding it in the same meaning. It is clear that this term has the same meaning as the sun. I think Birushana was originally the idealization of Śākyamuni. It is said in chapter 4 on the names of the Tathāgata, of the old version of Avataṁsaka-sūtra; "The titles of the Buddha in the four worlds are not the same. He is called Siddhārtha or Full-moon or Siṁhanāda or Śākyamuni or Ṛṣi, or Rushana (Rocana) or Gotama". It is said in chapter 58 on entering into the dharmadhātu of the same Sūtra: "In this world queen Māyā is the mother of Rushana (Rocana) Buddha." It is said in the Fugen-bosatsu-gyōbō-kyō (Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-caryā-sūtra): "Śākyamuni is called Vairocana who pervades everywhere". Such is the personification of the real body of Śākyamuni as the Sun. In one aspect he may be concerned with the myth of the sun.

Chinese scholars have discussed the distinction of the three kāyas of the Buddha. Vairocana or Rocana is one of them: allocations differ among them. Chapter 9 of the Hokkekyō-monku by Chigai Sayo: "The Dharma-kāya Tathāgata is called Vairocana who is rendered 'pervading everywhere', the Sambhogakāya Tathāgata is called Rocana 'rendered pure and full', and the Nirmāṇakāya Tathāgata is called Śākyamuni, rendered..." Thus Vairocana is regarded Dharmakāya and Rocana as Sambhoga-kāya. We have already quoted the Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-sūtra which regards Vairocana as Dharma-kāya because he pervades everywhere and Rocana is explained in the Brahmajāla-sūtra as Sambhoga-kāya because he is the lord on the thousand petals of the lotus. The Sanron-ryakushō-shin-ō-gi by Kichizō quotes the theory of the teachers of Jiron: "The teachers of Jiron interpret as follows: there are three bodies of the Buddha. The first is Nirmāṇa-kāya that is Śākyamuni, and the second is Sambhoga-kāya that is Shana, since he performed the Daśabhūmi and thereby the cause has to be fulfilled. So he is called Recompensed Buddha. The third is the Dharma of the Tathatā, it is pure in its svabhāva. So he is called Dharma-Buddha". In this case it seems that Rushana of the Avataṁsaka is assigned to sambhoga-kāya. Chapter 9 of the Hokke-genron cites the theory of five ordinary men: "The theory of the five ordinary men classifies the four kinds of Buddha. The fundamental is divided into two kāyas: (1) dharma-kāya, (2) sambhoga-kāya. The dharma-kāya is Buddhatva, while sambhoga-kāya is the result of the cause fulfilled. The results are divided into two bodies. The Buddha who teaches the Bodhisattva is called Shana and the Buddha who teaches the two yānas (of the śrāvaka and pratyekabuddha) is called Śākyamuni". This seems to regard Rocana in the Brahmajāla-sūtra as the result body. The commentators of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra regard Rushana of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra to be the Buddha-kāya who is furnished with ten bodies. Their theory is different from the theory that has been mentioned above.

It is said in chapter 3 of the Kegonkyō-tangen-ki: "This Shana Butsu is not restricted to the sambhoga-kāya, because he is prevalent in the three worlds and is furnished with ten bodies. Because the Buddha is prevalent in the three worlds, the land mentioned below is Rushana just as the land and body in ten bodies. The so-called ten bodies are the body of sentient beings, the body of the land, the body of the result of karma, the body of śrāvaka, the body of pratyekabuddha, the body of Bodhisattva, the body of Tathāgata, the body of jñāna, the body of Dharma and the body of ākāśa. Vairocana is regarded to have all the ten bodies. He is called 'the ten bodies that pervade the three worlds' or 'the ten Buddhas who understand the domain'. The Tathāgata-kāya among these ten bodies has sambodhi-Buddha, praṇidhāna-Buddha, karma-Buddha, holding Buddha, nirmāṇa-Buddha, dharmadhātu-Buddha, mano-Buddha, samādhi-Buddha, quality-Buddha, cintā-Buddha. Such are the ten Buddhas practicing the objective world, and called Shana who has ten bodies. The Esoteric Buddhists call Him Mahāvairocana Buddha. He lives in the vast vajra-dharma-dhātu-vimāna, and preaches the equality of the triguhya (karma, speech and mind) for the sake of his own parivāras. The substance of the Buddha is the two dharma-kāya: upāya and prajñā.

It is said in the Sanshu-shijji-hajigoku-ten gosshō-shutsu-sangai-himitsu-darani-hō: "The body and the world of Vairocana communicate with each other and the quality and the form are the same. They are the mahātman of the Tathatā pervading the dharma-dhātu. The body, the word and the mind are equal just like the great sky (ākāśa). His domain is the sky and the dharma-dhātu is his bed. Mahāvairocana Tathāgata manifests two kinds of dharma-kāya to teach this way. The Buddha of the prajñā dharma-kāya dwells in the upāya of reality and manifests 37 divinities for the sake of enjoyment of Himself, leading all beings into the peerless way. The Buddha of the upāya dharma-kāya dwells in tranquil Tathatā, and manifests eight petals without removing natural constancy, and shows threefold maṇḍala for the sake of the enjoyment of Himself and others, thereby enabling the ten worlds to realize the great voidness. Although there is distinction between upāya and prajñā, and difference of wideness and simplicity, the two are but one dharma without any difference. All the dharmas are reduced to one letter *a* and the five categories are the same Vairocana". Thus prajñā dharma-kāya dwells in the principle of reality and manifests 37 divinities for the enjoyment of Himself. He is the lord of Vajra-dhātu. The upāya dharma-kāya dwells in the prajñā of Tathatā and shows threefold maṇḍala for the enjoyment of Himself and others. He is the

Funding by IKS-MoE

lord of Garbhadhātu, and Vairocana is the body of advaita of upāya and prajñā.

The first chapter of the Rishu-shaku says that Vairocana Tathāgata is called 'shining everywhere' and is a sambhoga-kāya. He had attained Enlightenment in the heaven of the fourth dhyāna at the summit of Rupa-dhātu. He preaches for many Bodhisattvas the four kinds of ārya-prajñā that was realized by Himself. When the Kongōchōyuga-sanjūshichisan-shusshō-gi says: "He realizes svasambhoga-kāya of the dharma-dhātu-svabhāva. He is Vairocana Buddha inside the stūpa", it refers mainly to the prajñā-dharma-kāya and regards this the svasambhoga-kāya.

Vairocana Buddha is painted or engraved as Mahāvairocana Buddha in the twin maṇḍalas of Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu as well as independently. But he is built as Rocana Buddha or Vairocana Buddha. Amoghapāśa-mantra-sūtra no. 15 gives the name of the manifestation of Vairocana Buddha. In China it is recorded in the Karaku-jōto-ryūmonshiyo-Daibirushana-zōgan-ki and in Bussotōki no.39 that in the third year of Kankyō of the Emperor Kao-tsang, T'ang dynasty, priest Zendō and others engraved the colossal image of Rocana Buddha 85 shaku in height on the stone wall of Lung-mên. The Rozan-ki ch. 1 mentions that an image of Rocana Buddha was painted by Chōsōson in the monastery Kenmyō at Rozan. Koshōryōden ch. 2 records that a statue of Rocana Buddha was erected in the 13-storied Buddhist shrine to the north of Zuisōden in Wu-t'ai-shan, and that ten thousand statues of Bodhisattvas were carved on the four sides of the shrine.

Japanese chronicles record the following. A colossal Buddha Rocana was cast at Tōdaiji monastery in the first year of Tempyō-shōhō. A seated image of lacquer work 1 jo 6 shaku high, attributed to Shitaku, was installed in the Golden Temple of Tōshō-daiji, and one thousand miniature Buddhas were carved on the halo of the image. It is ordained in the articles of the library in chapter 13 of the Engishiki that recitation of sūtra in spring and autumn should be performed in front of the main divinity Rocana Buddha. The fourth chapter of the Tōdaiji-yōruku mentions that the painting of the paradise of Vairocana Buddha on three silk scrolls, was hung in the Southern Amitābha temple. Fusōryakki (no. 217) says that in the second year of Eiso, four images of Mahāvairocana Buddha were painted in the five-storied pagoda of Enyūji monastery. In chapter 30 of the same book it is said that in the first year of Shōryaku a statue of Vairocana Buddha 3 jo 2 shaku high was made in the Golden Temple of Hōshōji monastery, and one hundred miniature Buddhas were installed in

Funding by IKS-MoE

each petal of the lotus. The Kōzanji-engi records that a statue of Vairocana 1 jo 6 shaku high by Unkei, with Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya Bodhisattva as two attendants, was installed in the Golden Temple of the same monastery, and that a golden statue of Vairocana Buddha with four attendants, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya (by Tankei) was installed in the three-storied pagoda of the same monastery, and also a maṇḍala of Vairocana with five divinities was painted by Jōnin and installed in the study hall. A seated image of wood is in the Discipline Temple of Kanzeonji, Chikuzen. It is now a national treasure together with the statues at Tōdaiji and Tōshodaiji.

Vairocana Buddha is recorded in the following books: chapter 30 of Buddha's Enlightenment in the Old Avataṁsaka, chapter 96, chapter 53 on entering into dharma-dhātu, the Zohōketsugi-kyō (sūtra on the decision of doubts concerning the decadent period), chapter 1 of Shōmanhōkutsu, Tangenki on Avataṁsaka no. 46, Kegon-gokyō-shō no. 2, Kongōchō-yuga-ryaku-jutsu-sanjūshison-shin-yō, Daijō-Hōon-girin-shō no. 7, chapter 1 of the Kōshōryō-den, chapter 5 of the San-tendai-godaisan-ki, miracles in the Kokonzuga-shūsei no. 91.

ICHIJI KINRIN = EKĀKṢARA CAKRAVARTĪ or EKĀKṢARA UṢṆĪṢACAKRA (Mochizuki 1.140-141)

Ichiji Kinrin is Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣacakra in Sanskrit. The word can be translated literally as: 'One-letter-summit-wheel'. He is a Buddhoṣṇīṣa whose mantra is *bhrūṁ*. He is supreme among the many Buddhoṣṇīṣas. He is called Ekākṣara Cakravartī on the simile of the Golden-cakra (Kinrin) who is superior among cakravartīs in the world. He is also called Cakravarti-Buddhoṣṇīṣa. His bīja *bhrūṁ* is a mantra that comprises three kāyas. Therefore it is most secret. There are two kinds of Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣacakra: Vairocana-Uṣṇīṣacakra and Śākyamuni-Uṣṇīṣacakra. Śākyamuni-Uṣṇīṣacakra is explained in the Ekākṣara-Uṣṇīṣacakra-sūtra. He has curled hair, has the dharmadhātu-mudrā or bowl-bearing mudrā, and the mudrā is surmounted with a wheel. Vairocana-Uṣṇīṣacakra is explained in the 'Vajraśekhara-sūtra-ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-yoga at all time and place to be recited sambodhi-kalpa'. He wears the five-wisdom crown and has the jñāna-muṣṭi mudrā. This kalpa (ritual) says: "Light denotes sarva-jñāna, because it removes nescience and darkness. The wheel that is represented is of the same dimension as the sky, all the Tathāgatas in the sky are encompassed by the wheel. The Cakravarti-rāja is represented by visualizing

Funding by IKS-MoE

this jñāna-cakra (wisdom-wheel). Tathāgata-kāya shines like the moon. He decorates the dharma-kāya in all aspects. He wears the vajra-diadem and bears cakra-mālā on the head. He is adorned with many precious gems. He shows jñāna-muṣṭi (wisdom-fist) mudrā. He is seated on padma-pedestal on siṁhāsana". In ordinary rite Vairocana-Uṣṇīṣacakra is worshipped. His body is golden or white. He is seated on an eight-petalled white lotus. The form denotes that jñāna-Buddha of the Vajradhātu enters the sūrya-cakra-samādhi of Garbha maṇḍala. The mudrā is described as jñāna-muṣṭi in the sūtra, but it is different from the jñāna-muṣṭi of Vairocana, and according to an oral tradition both palms should face the body. His samaya symbol is the eight-spoked wheel. He is prayed for all kinds of siddhi and for the removal of calamities (compare sarva-durgati-pariśodhana). Such is a ritual of Ekākṣara-Uṣṇīṣacakra. Merit accruing from the rite is described in the ritual: "If this yoga is performed, whatever the extent of the worst sins committed, all evil worlds will be transcended and Enlightenment will soon be realized". It is said in the Amṛta-kuṇḍali-bodhisattva-pūjā-kalpa: "Suppose a man recites mantra of Buddhoṣṇīṣa-rāja and later if he perform other mantras in 500 yojanas and recite what he worshipped originally, the divinity does not descend to him nor gives him siddhi, because this deity is comprehended in the rite of Ekākṣara-Buddhoṣṇīṣa". In this way, when a yogin performs the rite of Ekākṣara-Buddhoṣṇīṣa, other rites do not remain efficient. When this rite is performed the mantra of Buddhalocanā is usually recited. If the mantra of Buddhalocanā is recited, the Uṣṇīṣacakra does not necessarily comprise others.

This divinity is described in the Ichiji-kidoku-bucchō-kyō, Daidarani-mappōchū-ichijishinjukyō, Bodai-jo-shosetsu-ichiji-chōrin-ō-gyō, Ichiji-chōrin-ō-nenju-giki, Ichiji-chōrin-ō-yuga-kangyō-giki, Yuga-eikakshara-ushunisha-shakiri-shingon-antadana-gisoku-ichiji-chōrin-ō-yugō-kyō, etc.

Funding by IKS-MoE

ACHARYAGE D. T. E. PERERA, SRILANKA

COLOSSAL BUDDHA IMAGES OF ANCIENT SRILANKA

The millieu of Buddhist sculpture in SriLanka was a variegated one. Images and icons of the founder of the religion, the Buddha, comprised its main repertory. In the iconography of the Buddha image there were three primary types: the seated, standing and the recumbent. Of the standing type there was a sudden growth towards a tendency for the colossi in early types. It is this type that is analysed below.

Colossi in Buddhist sculpture could be traced back to the second or third century of the present era with West Asia as its probable place of origin. In the region now known as Bamiyan in Afghanistan there are still in-situ Buddhist sculptures which are among the most stupendous of their type. These are the two images of the Buddha in the standing attitude. They measure approx. 112 and 172 feet respectively. They are hewn out of a living rock boulder and are necessarily relievo carvings. But they look more like sculptures made in the round. They are housed within their own chapels.

These two sculptures are covered with a thin plaster of stucco probably to camouflage the rough edges of the natural rock surface, and are finally gilded and polychromed. The walls of their chapels including the ceiling above are lavishly painted with designs of floral and other motifs. There is no doubt that the Bamiyan sculptures of the Buddha would have been a veritable source of inspiration to the early Buddhist artists who happened to cross the Kabul valley which linked the southern branch of the 'Great Northern Highway' referred to in the early Buddhist and Indian texts as the *Uttarāpatha*, the trade route of the then known world which bridged the East and the West on commercial, cultural and political levels.

Traders, pilgrims and even men of learning crossed this region in search of various fortunes. It is the opinion of scholars that men from SriLanka too had enough links with this region of the ancient world known as Gandhāra, although properly speaking Gandhāra covers a still vaster area.[1]

When the Mahāsāya or the great pyramidal stūpa at Anurādhapura in ancient SriLanka was completed by the monarch Duṭṭhagāminī (circa 161-137

---

[1] B. A. Litvinsky, Mahādeva and Duṭṭhagāminī, *The Buddhist*, Colombo, 43(1972).16-17.

B.C.) it was recorded in the ancient chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* that among the many distinguished Buddhist monks who arrived at the final crowning ceremony of the stūpa, to grace the occasion were the dignitaries of the monastic establishment of Gandhāra. It was the religio-cultural contacts that prevailed between the two regions, namely SriLanka and Gandhāra which may have led to the borrowing of the ideas pertaining to colossal statues of the Buddha.

The first attempt in portraying the Great Sage Śākyamuni Gautama in stupendous form in SriLanka was the statue that is known as the Avukana Buddha. Recent researches by archaeologists and art-historians in SriLanka have enabled them to distinguish a close similarity between the very name *Avukana* and the Bamiyan region which was referred to in ancient times variously as Vokkana, Avakana, or Vakana and in early Chinese literature as O-po-ki-ni. It has been surmised that the above toponyms, which were used in early Buddhist Prakrit and Chinese literature with reference to this particular region now known as Afghanistan (wherein Bamiyan is situated), bear a close similarity between the word Avukana, hence could have been responsible in deriving the name used in reference to the particular colossus in SriLanka which very much resemble the Bamiyan colossi.[2]

The colossal Buddha statues of Bamiyan were sculpted by those who advocated Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was in Mahāyāna Buddhism that the concept of Buddha was elevated to a position of more a god-head than a human being. According to Mahāyāna the Buddha was not merely a sage who achieved Supreme Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*) through a progressive development fo mental culture (*bhāvanā*) but a saviour of all human and divine beings. Śākyamuni the historical Buddha was only an apparitional form emanated from the Eternal Buddha Amitābha or Amitāyus who resides in the highest heaven Sukhāvatī.

---

[2] It could be surmised that the very name Avukana reflects a faint echo of the famous Gandhara site Bamiyan which was within the periphery of the Avukana region of Indian literary fame. For an analysis of ancient names of the Bamiyan site such as *Avakan, Avakana, Vakana, Vakan, Vokkana* and Chinese rendering *O-po-ki-van* see *Divyāvadāna*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1959, ch.37, p. 465; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, ed. K.A. Ramasvami Sastri Siromani, Baroda, 1934, p.57, 309; *Epigraphia Indica*, II.60; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 15, 28; see further, A. D. T. E. Perera, Roruka the Lost Buddhist Kingdom was not Mohenjodaro, *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, New Delhi, Vol.3(1973).85 ff; Id. The Avukana Buddha—was it Śākyamuni Buddha or the primordial Buddha Amitābha, *The Buddhist*, Colombo, 45.1(1974).35ff.

The portrayal of the Buddha figure in superhuman qualities was an attempt to emphasise the soteriological aspect of Buddhahood, hence the origin of the titanic image of the Buddha, first in Bamiyan which was a part of the Gandhāra region where Mahāyāna Buddhism was supposed to have had its origin. It was natural that this concept of portraying the Buddha in superhuman qualities had gained currency wherever Mahāyāna Buddhism spread and SriLanka after the third or the fourth century of the present era was no exception to this.

The Avukana Buddha image in SriLanka has many similar features to those of the Bamiyan colossi. It depicts in the right hand which is raised towards the right shoulder and palm spread, the gesture known as *abhaya mudrā* which indicates that the votary is protected from all fears (bhaya) mundane or supra-mundane, hence *a+bhaya*, that is 'no+fear'. The left hand too is shown raised and touching the left shoulder. The palm of the left hand is turned towards the Buddha. This is a gesture indicating the votary to seek after the Buddha for release from sentient bondage (saṁsāra). The Buddha stands erect on a lotus pedestal and is housed within a shrine of equal enormous dimensions as the remains of its foundations indicate today. Miniature metal images of the gods of the Hindu pantheon have been found below the feet of the Buddha image. This has been interpreted as an attempt to show that the Buddha is above all gods or titans of other popular Indian religions.

The Avukana Buddha image approximately 43 feet in height is the archetype of colossal Buddha images that have been sculpted by the ancient Sinhalese of SriLanka. Although it is sculpted in high relief and the back of the figure is not separated from the rock-boulder out of which the figure was hewn, the Avukana Buddha image looks more like an image sculpted in the round.

A limestone statue of the Buddha sculpted in the round and measuring approximately 52 feet, is found in a badly ruined state in the jungle thickness of an ancient site known as Māligāvela in south SriLanka. Its lotus pedestal lies a few yards away from it and another massive image of a Bodhisattva, a divine being belonging to the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon too is found close by lying flat on the ground. Since almost all the colossal standing Buddha images in SriLanka as well as those in other countries are sculpted in heigh relief, this particular image which is sculpted fully in the round is now reckoned to be the world's tallest standing image of the Buddha ever sculpted in ancient times. Despite broken limbs and badly beaten by the elements it still emanates an amorphous sauvity.

A third image of the Buddha in colossal proportions is found at a place known as Sässeruva which is not far away from the ancient citadel Anurādhapura. This statue looks either badly weatherworn or left unfinished by the sculptor. The Sässeruva image of the Buddha falls short of the refined smooth finish, the elegance and perfect proportions, a brio to which the Avukana Buddha image has all claims. Yet it bears all the features of the Avukana Buddha image in regard to stylistic concept. The hand postures, the method of wearing the robe (*cīvara*) with the right shoulder kept bare and bellowed at the bottom. The drapery is delineated by the parallel ridges which is the typical method followed by the Sinhala sculptor of the classical period, unlike subsequent post-classical times, when ridges were replaced by parallel groves and still later by schematic wavy patterns. The coiffure is shown in the traditional pattern of hair coiled into rings like a snail shell. The Sässeruva Buddha image stands on a lotus pedestal and is sculpted in high relief with the back of the image cleaving to the living rock boulder from which it was carved out. All these speak of a common tradition of colossal Buddha image sculpture in the early centuries of the present era that has been founded in SriLanka.

To this group one could add the huge lotus pedestal sans image, within a stupendous shrine in Anurādhapura. The pedestal still bears the mortices meant for the feet of the huge image. This is found in the precincts of the famous Jetavana dagaba, the gigantic stūpa built by king Mahāsena (about 276-303 A.D.) who patronised Mahāyāna Buddhism despite bitter protest by the orthodox Buddhist clergy, the Theravāda monks of SriLanka. It is quite likely that this monarch Mahāsena had installed a huge image of the Buddha in a shrine facing his equally stupendous stūpa, the Jetavana dāgāba which was the most massive edifice of the then known Buddhist world. (The Jetavana stūpa has a diameter of 367 feet at its base with its original height of 160 cubits or 400 feet). This image of the Jetavana dagaba complex made out of lime-stone is believed to have been reduced to ashes after a conflagration which destroyed the enormous shrine complex at a subsequent date.

All the Buddha images that have been discussed above are dated approximately around the fourth to the sixth centuries of the present era while some scholars believe that a date little anterior too might not be improbable.

The identification of these colossal Buddha images of ancient SriLanka with the Mahāyāna repertory of Buddhist art was made possible on many grounds. A major factor is their close similarity to the Bamiyan colossi. Another reason is the association of Buddhist divinities known as Bodhisattvas

Funding by IKS-MoE

who belong to the Mahāyāna pantheon and who form a *tout ensemble* of the architectural composition of these sculptures. We have mentioned above the discovery of the huge Bodhisattva image close to the image of the Māligāvila Buddha colossus. The best evidence for the association of SriLanka Buddha colossi with Mahāyāna repertoire is the group of colossal sculptures found at the ancient site known as Buduruvegala. Here at Buduruvegala the primary image of the Buddha is flanked on either side by a pair of Mahāyāna divinities. On one side is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the god par excellence in the Mahāyāna pantheon with goddess Tārā and on the other side is the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta with his prajñā. These two primary Bodhisattvas are referred to in ancient Mahāyāna Buddhist texts as the acolytes of the great Buddha Amitābha (or Amitāyus) who resides in the supreme heaven Sukhāvatī. The portrayal of the five colossi at Buduruvegala, the ancient site in south SriLanka is evidently an attempt to introduce or revive a Mahāyāna in SriLanka. These stupendous sculptures were believed to have been originally highly polychromed. Patches of paint still intact were found till recently by the archaeologists who discovered these sculptures in the present century. This indicates that most of these ancient stone sculptures in SriLanka were profusely polychromed. Buddha colossi with their gilded figures and polychromed and the back walls of their shrines painted with motifs and legends would have been an awe-inspiring spectacle to the votary and a lively attraction to the onlooker.

Yet another type of colossal Buddha image was also tried by the ancient Sinhala master sculptors. However this type has nothing to do with the Mahāyāna form of Buddha worship. This was the portrayal of the Buddha's death bed, referred to in early Pali texts as *Parinibbāna-mañca*. The theme has apparently gained currency after the fall of the ancient citadel Anuradhapura, hence belongs to the last lap of the classical period of Sinhala Art.

The first attempt to portray the dying Buddha in colossal proportions was made by the great monarch Parākramabāhu who ruled from his new capital city Polonnaruva. It is possible that the theme must have been imported by those who have made acquaintances with the western Indian rock-cut Buddhist sanctuaries like Ajanta, Ellora, Nasik, etc. King Parākramabāhu's innovation in the figure sculpture of the Buddha's Parinibbāna-mañca had seemingly gained currency subsequently. Several such colossal images are found dispersed in many ancient sites in SriLanka. Of these the images at Tantrimale and Attaragollava are the best known for their aesthetic appeal still associated with them despite their badly weatherworn limbs. The colossal Buddha in Parinibb-

Funding by IKS-MoE

ānamañca has also been tried in media other than granite. The laterite and brick too have been resorted to by later post-classical period sculptors to portray colossal images of the Buddha in this position.

In late mediaeval times the concept of the dying Buddha has been superceded by that of the 'sleeping Buddha', probably an aberration of the former type. This may have been a result of Thai (Siamese) and Burmese influence. Thai and Burmese schools of art were the repertoire of several such Buddha images in the reclining attitude in and after the fifteenth century. This was the period SriLanka had enough religio-cultural contacts with these two kingdoms in south-east Asia.

Funding by IKS-MoE

GENJUN H. SASAKI, KYOTO (JAPAN)

MĀNA, ASMIMĀNA, ĀTMAMĀNA

Three Sanskrit words, *māna, asmimāna, ātmamāna,* are respectively translated in Chinese by *men* (**1**), *wu men* (**2**) and *tze men* (**3**). All of these Chinese words, make etymologically no distinction from each other, meaning simply 'pride'.

Sanskrit equivalents, however, being not confined to 'pride' or the psychological sphere, are based on the etymological meaning and concerned with the logical sphere. Going beyond the meaning of pride they point to the reality of the self, whatever pride or humility it may be. Moreover, with the development of Buddhism old etymology of the words are forgotten or deliberately lost sight of.

MĀNA, PRIDE, CONCEIT

Māna generally means 'pride', under which the Theravādins divide its types of manifestation into seven. They are: *māno, atimāno, mānātimāno, omāno, adhimāno, asmimāno, micchāmāno.*[1]

If one takes *māno* simply as a concept meaning 'pride', how can he understand *omāno* (*ūna-māno* in Skt.) meaning inferiority-complex? It should not be *māna* (pride), rather an opposition to pride. The same is true with *asmimāna,* literally meaning 'I am' conceit. But how could the self-awareness ('I am') be 'pride'? Because the self-awareness as such should be neither pride nor inferiority-complex. Further, *micchāmāno* (a wrong conceit) should be common to all *māno*, when the latter could mean only pride. All *māno*, as far as it is concerned with the Buddhist ideation, should not be good, but evil, that is, *micchā* (wrong). Thus, a wrong conceit is not to be limited to *micchāmāno* only. The other three, i.e. *māno, atimāno, mānātimāno,* respectively corresponding to conceit, arrogance, pride and conceit, will be appeal exactly to the English 'conceit' or 'pride'.

Having a double meaning implied, i.e. superiority-conceit and inferiority-complex, *māna* has been divided into 7 types (*vidhā*), as shown above. In other words, both superiority-conceit and inferiority-complex, being involved in one and the same concept of *māna*, are in reality based upon 'imagination' or 'conception', whatever superior or inferior, which is rightly the original meaning of

---

[1] According to the various kinds of the mind-elevation (*cittassa uṇṇati*), *māno* is divided into 10 kinds. Mahāniddesa 1.80.

Funding by IKS-MoE

māna derived from the root '*man*', 'to imagine', 'to think', 'to conceive'. This is denoted in the Mahāniddesa as follows: *Yo evarūpo māno maññanā maññitattham uṇṇati uppamo dhajo sampaggāho, ketukamyatā cittassa, ayaṃ vuccati māno.* (*Māno* means conception [imagination], the state of conception, haughtiness, loftiness, mark, assumption, the desire for prominence.[2]

This is a designation of *māna* from the psychological point of view, for these qualities refer to *citta* as indicated in the quoted passage. Summing up these designations, it is said to be *cittassa uṇṇati* meaning the rising up of the mind, which represents the logical[3] point of view, for 'the rising up of the mind' or stirring up of the mind will take place at anytime when the mind is compared with others or when one conceives of oneself in relation to others, superior or inferior.

Māna, derived from the root *man*, originally means conception, assumption, imagination, and also *Meinung*, *Vorstellung* in view of Böthlingk und Roth, having come to mean *eine hohe Meinung, die Achtung*:[3]

A Chinese rendering *men* is remarkable on the variety of meaning such as 'to neglect, to despise, to be proud of' all of which are, just like the various implications in Pāli,[4] rightly manifestations of *māna* with the basic meaning of 'the conception of oneself in relation to others' or with the etymological meaning of the root *man* in Pāli.

ASMIMĀNA

Asmimāna (*asmi-māna*) really implies 'to conceive that I am the five aggregates (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *sankhāra*, *viññāna*). It is exemplified: *Thale ussādeti kho bhikkhu asmimānassetam adhivacanaṃ* (Oh! Bhikkhu high, raising, this is synonym of 'I am') Saṁyuttanikāya 5.180. The compound 'I am' denotes the high attitude towards the individual existence. What, then, is *asmi* 'I am'? *Rūpavantam vā attānam attaṃ vā rūpaṃ rūpaṃ vā attaṃ. Iti ayaṃ ceva samanupassanā*

---

[2] The words *maññanā maññitattam* exactly shows the etymology of *māna* derived from the root *man* (op cit.).

[3] Böthlingk und Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, p.719.

[4] A Chinese *men* (1) and its various meanings are enumerated in Daijiten (in Jap.), Kodansha, 1964, p.874; Jigen (in Chinese), Taiwan, Shomu-insho-kan, The year of Taiwan 60; H.A.Gilles, A Chinese-English Dictionary, Taipei, 1967, p.950 c; Mathews, Chinese-English Dictionary, 9th printing, Harvard, p. 612c.

asmīti cassa avigatam.[5] (I have *rūpa, rūpa* is I myself, I myself is *rūpa.* The observation such as 'I am' is not yet removed.)

The conception of 'I am', therefore, indicates that which I am the five aggregates, and attach to them as real entities. Thus, the Buddhistic genuine attitude is: *Api ca me āvuso pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu asmīti adhigatam ayam aham asmīti ca na samanupassāmi.* S III.130. ([The Buddha says], Oh friends, I do not observe that I am the five aggregates to be attached.)

The implication of *asmi* has faithfully been inherited in the Abhidharma philosophy as is often explained: *Rūpe asmīti māno ti ahaṃ rūpan ti uppannamāno.* (Sammohavinodanī p.490.) (That which I am in *rūpa* means the conception arisen (*uppannamāna*) that I am just right *rūpa* itself.) The *asmi*, thus, is nothing but an abbreviation of *asmīti māna* (to conceive I myself as the five aggregates).

On the other side, this logical consideration of *asmi* is often used together with other psychological terms such as *chanda* and *anusaya*: *Atha khavassa hoti yeva pañcasu upādānakkhandesu anusahagato asmīti māno asmīti chando asmīti anusayo asamūhato.* (Conception 'I am', desire 'I am', latent bias 'I am', all these are bound by the five aggregates of clinging and not yet removed.)

Three terms here, *māna, chanda, anusaya*, represent a psychological process in a way that one will *conceive* at first, when he wants to do, then, proceed to *desire*, and finally he will be captured by *latent bias*— the most strongest affection in a Buddhist sense. *Chanda* and *anusaya* originate from *māna*. *Māna*, meaning the conception of the five aggregates of clinging, is the self-awareness of the individual existence, which is in itself neither pride nor humiliation but simply *yathābhūtam* ('to see the things as they are') or the *non plus ultra* of the teachings expounded by the Buddha.

In this connection, the English translation 'pride' for *māna* is of the secondary meaning or the psychological aspect of it as derived from the original, logical significance. The meaning of 'pride', I venture to say, is the connotation which occurs at the turning-point from the logical to the psychological sphere.

---

[5] *Asmimāna* is also defined as *thale ussādo: thale ussādo to kho bhikkhu asmimānassetam adhivacanaṃ,* S.4.180. The implication of [*aham*] *asmi* is explained thus: *rupavantaṃ vā attānam attani vā rūpaṃ rūpasmiṃ vā attānam. Iti ayaṃ ceva samanupassanā asmīti cassa avigataṃ hoti.* A word *avigatam* substitutes for *adhigatam* in Pāli Text Society's edition of Saṃyuttanikāya.Cf.Siamese ed. S III.46, Niddesa-Aṭṭhakathā 1.209. Further, it is explained in another text: *rūpe asmīti māno ti ahaṃ rūpan ti uppannamāno* (Sammohavinodanī p.490).

Funding by IKS-MoE

We have, though rare it is, another Pāli term equivalent to *asmimāna*. That is *attamāna* which means thinking on the self. The Suttanipāta runs: *Anattani attamānaṃ passa lokaṃ sadevakaṃ niviṭṭhaṃ nāmarūpasmiṃ, 'idaṃ saccaṃ' ti maññati*. (Thinking on the self in the non-self, the world of men and gods dwelling in name and form, he thinks: "This is true.")

In connection to *attamānam* K. E. Neumann gives in his *Die Reden Gotamo Buddho* (Leipzig: 1905, p.244) the following rendering: *eigen gibt es hier*, and says:

"Uneigen, eigen gibt es hier,
Der Welt mit ihrer Göttesschaar,
Gegründet in Begriff und Form,
Im Wahne, dass da Wahrheit sei."

[Atta]-māna, a term quite clear in its meaning of 'thinking on' [the self], is equal to *asmi-māna*, and suggests that *māna* in both compounds is taken for the primary meaning ('thinking on'), but not the secondary ('pride').

Of the translations to be found in *attamāna*, some misunderstand it and confuse with the Hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit *āttamana* or *āptamana*, which means 'delighted' or 'satisfied'. Suffice to quote an example of E.M.Hair's translation. The same verse in Suttanipāta is rendered:

"See how the worlds,
Content with what is not the self,
Convinced by name and form,
Hold it as true!" (*The Woven Cadences*, 2nd. ed. PTS. 1946)

Atta(*-māna*) is wrongly taken as the past participle of *ā-dā* or *āp*. It is really a noun *ātman*. If it connotes 'content' or delighted', it should be *attamana*, but not *attamāna*.

Further, this Pāli term *attamāna* usually means, as mentioned above, 'thinking on the self', while *ātmamāna*, a term sanskritized in Mahāyāna Buddhism, distinct from the Pāli *attamāna*, denotes simply 'the self-conceit' or 'the self-pride', going beyond the primary meaning of 'thinking on'. With respect to a Sanskrit *ātmamāna* it will be again discussed in detail.

The Sarvāstivādins have three Sanskrit terms for conception such as *māna*. *asmimāna* and also *asmitā*, all of which are rendered by HüenChien as *wu men*(**2**). In this sense of *māna* is found in AKV. p.303, while *asmimāna* and *asmitā* are found respectively in AKV. p. 456, 457, 463, and in AKV. p. 457.

Moreover, all three terms retain the original meaning of the root 'man', namely, conception or assumption. Vasubandhu, commenting on Abhidharma-

Funding by IKS-MoE

kośa-kārikā 11, says: *'satkāyadṛṣṭipuṣṭā hi mānavidhā asmimānaśca.'* Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā (AKV) 286 (*asmimāna*, one of *māna*, grows up with a wrong view of the self-existence.)

Asmimāna does not merely connotes 'pride' but the 'self-conception in the non-self' based on a wrong view of *satkāyadṛṣṭi*. Further, *māna* is said to be a process of conception, for Vasubandhu explains the basis of [seven] classifications of *māna* as given below: *sa pravṛttibhedhāt saptadhā bhavati* (Seven kinds of *[māna]* depends upon the difference of process).

The conception of the self is a common nature of seven *māna*. Therefore, *māna* can represent itself sometimes as a process of conception raising up the self (*atimāna*) and sometimes as a process of turning down the self (*ūnamāna*) in adverse. The case is the same with *mithyāmāna*, which is not 'a wrong pride' but rather a wrong conception, as is explained by Yaśomitra as follows: *a-guṇānvitasya guṇavān aham asmīti viparīta-viṣayo māno mithyā-mānaḥ* (AKV. p.456) (a wrong conception means a conception contrary to the following fact. That is, with no virtue man wrongly thinks, 'I am respectable'.)

Thus, the common nature of seven *māna* is a self-conception in the non-self or an assumption associated with a wrong view (*dṛṣṭi*), however *śreyān* or *hīno* the conception may be. The AKV. reads: *'katham śreyān aham asmīti māna-vidhā dṛṣti-saṃniśrito' timānaḥ.* Regarding to '*hīno*' (self-piety) it reads: *hīno 'smīti māna-vidhā dṛṣṭi-saṃniśrita ūnamānaḥ.* (AVK. p.456). With the original meaning of the 'self-conception' of *māna* alone the contrary concepts of *atimāna* (self-pride) and *ūnamāna* (self-piety) can be subject to the one and the same category of the seven kinds of *māna*.

Another speciality to be noted with regard to the original meaning of *māna* is the Bhadantadharmatrāta's interpretation, which is quoted by Vasubandhu in his Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya p.142: *asmīti sattvamayatā'vidyeti Bhadantadharmatrātaḥ. kā punar asmimānādanyā mayatā.* (Ignorance denotes man's delight in that I am *[pañcaskandha* as an entity]. Delight is not different from the [conception] of 'I am'.)[6] Hüen Chien renders it as follows: 'This ignorance (*avidyā*) is the nature of the human beings relying upon the self. What is the nature different from the self-conception?' A Sanskrit term *mayatā* (delight) is rendered here in this passage as nature (4), while *asmimāna* as self-pride (2). On the other hand, a Chinese term (4) commonly stand for *bhāva* or *svabhāva*. In either case no Chinese term equivalent to *mayatā* is found at all. Delight (*mayatā*) in that 'I am' seems hardly to be an etymology of *māna*, but rather a derivative meaning from the root *man* ('to conceive').

---

[6] Yaśomitra gives a comment on it, saying: *asmimānād anyaḥ saṇṇām anyatamaḥ sa ca mayatā, nāvidyety abhiprāyaḥ.* Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā p.303.

Asmimāna, a compound-word of *asmiti māna*, is a synonym of *asmitā*, which is never found in the Pāli Abhidharma and Nikāya.[7] *Asmitā* literary means the state of the self existence (*asmi-tā*), but philosophically it indicates the conception of the self as an entity (*asmīti māna*). Important is here *māna* ('to conceive' or the conception), but not *ātman* or *aham* as an object in itself, unlike a Mahāyānistic term *ātmamāna*, of which *ātman* is a term objectified to be conceived. The following discussion will be centered around this term *ātmamāna*, a term commonly current in Mahāyāna tradition.

ĀTMAMĀNA

We have mentioned so far a concept of *asmimāna* developed in the Early Buddhist texts, retaining the original meaning of *asmīti māna*.

We have, however, another term of *ātmamāna* used in the later Mahāyāna texts such as Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā and Triṃśikā, etc. Accordingly such a Tibetan equivalent as *bdag ṅa rgyal* also has taken place in later Tibetan commentaries.

In terms of the Chinese ideograph, *asmimāna* is commonly rendered as (1) *men* and *ātmamāna* as *wu men* in a different term. Not only that, sometimes a term *māna* alone (not *asmimāna*) is translated by *wu men*, *wu* (the self) being added to *men* (*māna*) to meet the rule of stanza[8] (Cf. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, ed. by Wogihara, p.45 and its Chinese tr.).

Asmimāna is evidently replaced by *ātmamāna* in Mahāyāna texts. Five defilements, as for example, are enumerated in the Sthiramati's Madhyāntavibhāga-ṭīkā.[9] Such are *ātmadṛṣṭi*, *ātmamāna*, *ātmamoha*, *ātmasneha*, which stand respectfully for Pāli words: *attadiṭṭhi*, *asmimāna*, *moha*, *sneha*. The Mahāyāna literature attached importance to a term *ātman* in a form of the compound *ātmadṛṣti* and others. The verbal compound *āsmimāna* also was easily replaced by the noun compound *ātmamāna*.

---

[7] On *asmitā* and its usage see the following passage: *vibhavecchā na cāryasya sambhavanti vidhādataḥ nā 'smitādṛṣṭipuṣṭā hi mānavidhā kaukṛtyaṃ nā' pi cā'śubhaṃ* (Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya p. 286). Commenting on it Vasubandhu explains: *satkāyadṛṣṭipuṣṭā hi mānavidhā asmimānaśca.* Thus, a term *asmitā*, like *asmimāna*, does not simply connotes 'pride', but a wrong view of the self-existence, i.e., the 'thinking of the self in the non-self'. The latter is exactly the same as the meaning implied in the Pāli literature.

[8] The Chinese terms distinguish sometimes *asmimāna* and *ātmamāna* in a way that (3) stands for *asmimāna*, while (2) stands for *ātmamāna* (MVP.2122).

[9] Shiramati: Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, ed. R.C. Pandeya (Motilal Banarsidas, 1971) p.122.

The concept of *ātmamāna* has the same meaning as that of *asmimāna*, retaining the early Buddhistic meaning, i.e., 'to conceive that I am *[pañcaskandha]*' or 'the conception of the self as *[pañcaskandha]*'.

The Mahāyānist Sthiramati states in his Triṃśikā: *asmimānaḥ pañcasūpādānaskandheṣvātmatmanīyarahiteṣvātmīyā-bhiniveśādyā cittasyonnatiḥ so'smimānaḥ.*[10] *Asmimāna*, in his view, connotes the attachment (*abhiniveśa*) to a real entity of self, putting an emphasis on the psychological sphere, i., the elevation of mind (*cittasyonnati*). The commentator Vinītadeva, clarifying the distinction between *ātmamāna* and *asmimāna*, remarks: *bdag la ṅa rgyal ḥbyuṅ ba gaṅ yin pa de ni bdag tu rgyal ṅa rgyal żes byaḥo. ṅaḥo sñam paḥi ṅa rgyal śes bya ba ḥdis ni de ñid rab tu bsgrub paḥi rnam graṅs ston to.*

Ātmamāna (*bdag la ṅa rgyal*), meaning the conception of the self or the regarding the self as *[pañcaskandha]*, is used in parallel to *asmimāna (bdag tu ṅa rgyal)*, which connotes conceiving that I am *ṅaḥo sñam paḥi ṅa rgyal*). Noticeable is the remark that *ātma* (-*māna*), transcending the psychological explanation, has come to be an object of the attachment, i.e., a *viṣaya* (object) to be conceived. This remark is positively clarified by Sthiramati himself, who gives the definition to it and says: *ātmaviṣaye māna ātmamāno.*[11] (*ātmamāna* means conceiving the self as object.) As the concept of *ātma*(-*māna*) is objectified by *viṣaya*, it can tentatively be replaced by such a concept as *ālayavijñāna*, the view of which is termed *ātmadṛṣti* (the wrong view of *ātman*). *Ātmadṛṣti* is a concept expressing rather the philosophical sphere than the psychological one.

On the other side, from *ātmadṛṣti* (the regarding the self as *[pañcaskandha]* or as *[ālayavijñāna])* proceeds *asmimāna*, (the elevation of mind). The process from *ātmadṛṣṭi* to *asmimāna*, or from the philosophical recognition to the psychological sphere, is concisely stated below: *tatrālayavijñānasvarūpe sammūdhaḥ sannālayavijñāne ātmadṛṣtimutpādayati. ātmadarśanādyā cittasyonnatiḥ so'smimānaḥ.*[12] The wrong view of the self will arise at first and recognize it as *ātman*, a real entity, and then it will be followed by the elevation of mind (*cittasyonnati*), which will again give rise to such psychologically opposite elements as pride (*atimāna*) and self-piety (*ūnamāna*).

With regard to *āimamāna*, as Monier-Williams SED., and others show, is

---

[10] Triṃśikā, ed. S.Lévi (Paris 1925) p.29.

[11] Ibid. p.23.

[12] Ibid. p.23. In other words, *asmimāna* will give rise to a wrong view of the self, or the recognition of the self in the store-consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), exciting one's own mind.

Funding by IKS-MoE

found in the Vedic literature, meaning the regarding the self as [Brahman or others], which is strictly repudiated by Buddhists. For this reason is not used *attamāna* (Skt. *ātmamāna*) in the Early Buddhist literature. But, *asmimāna* (Pāli, Skt) took its place, completely altering the meaning of *ātman* as Brahman, turning it into *ātman* as *pañcaskandha* or the conception that I am (*aham asmi*).

This Buddhist tradition is pointedly expressed by Buddhaghosa in a passage of Papañcasūdanī[13]: *asmimāna iti rūpādisu asmīti māna*. The connotation of this passage is inherited by Sthiramati, as we have discussed before. Not only that, a new interpretation of *cittasyonnati* (the elevation of mind) is added by Abhidhārmikas and the Mahāyāna commentators as well.

Although the Mahāyānists have introduced a new term of *ātmamāna* and twisted a new interpretation different from the Vedic one, they have deliberately done it, because they wanted to confirm the earlier tradition found in Pāli literature, substituting Brahman for *ālayavijñāna* (the store-consciousness) not eternal, but momentary and unreal.

We have also to remember that the nine *māna*, as enumerated in a series from *māna* to *micchāmāna*, now show the different types of conceiving the self, but not immediately pride as such.

(1) 慢
(2) 我慢，自傲
(3) 自慢
(4) 自性

---

[13] Papañcasūdanī 3.141. In the Buddhist sense the negation of *asmi* ('I am') is the denial of the equation of 'I' with *pañcaskandha*, not to mention the equation with *brahmā*. 'Le bouddhisme, qui condamne la "notion: 'je suis' "(*asmimāna*), ne peut pas accepter qu'on dise: "Je suis le *brahman*". Cf. K. Bhattacharya, L'ātman-Brahman dans le bouddhisme ancien (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1973), p.73.

Funding by IKS-MoE

M. W. DE VISSER

THE GODDESS MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ IN CHINA AND JAPAN

Original in German by M. W. de Visser

English adaptation by Sushama Lohia, New Delhi

A remarkable figure in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism is the socalled Mahāmāyūrī whose Sanskrit name occurs in the Sanskrit title of the concerned sūtra as 'Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī'. This title, which we find in the Catalogue of the Hodgson Manuscripts 7.45, proves clearly that this figure described and illustrated in China and Japan as a male figure, is in reality a female. Otherwise how could Amoghavajra, the last translator of the sūtra, characterize her as a Buddhist goddess, as Buddhamātṛkā[1]?

I am obliged to my friend and colleague Prof. Vogel for the following explanations which confirm the female nature of this goddess. In Böthlingk-Roth's Sanskrit Dictionary 5.643 we read s.v. Mahāmāyūrī: proper name of one of the five Mahārakṣā among Buddhists (Pañcamahārakṣā, cf. Mahāmāyūrī-stotra collection no. 125 and Sādhanamālā no. 119, it means poems of praise to this goddess and a spell for the attainment of her protection).

Prof. Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, Buddhist Literature, 2.385) writes: "Similarly, the Dhāraṇīs often appear as parts of Sūtras which relate the circumstances under which they were proclaimed. There are, however, also numerous Dhāraṇīs which have come down singly in manuscripts, and on the other hand, large collections of Dhāraṇīs......The collection of five Dhāraṇīs entitled 'Pañcarakṣā' is extremely popular in Nepal. These 'Five Protecting Spells' are as follows:

1. Mahāpratisarā, for protection against sin, disease and other evils,
2. Mahāsāhasrapramardinī, against evil spirits,
3. Mahāmāyūrī, against snake-poison,
4. Mahāśītavatī, against hostile planets, wild animals and poisonous insects,
5. Mahā(rakṣā)mantrānusāriṇī, against diseases."

Such Dhāraṇīs were very often used as amulettes for protection against all evil spirits and powers". And in note 2 he quotes Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 18, which describes that the Buddhists used to take an oath on Pañcarakṣā in Nepalese courts.

---

[1] "Obviously he identified Māyūrī with Māyā, although the mother of Buddha has nothing in common with Mahāmāyūrī". Visser has misunderstood the Chinese word *fo-mu* or Sanskrit *Buddha-mātṛkā* to mean 'the Mother of the Buddha'. Fo-mu is a general term for Buddhist goddesses. In Sanskrit *mātṛgrāma* means 'womankind, the female sex' (Edgerton 1953.428b).

Rajendra Lal Mitra has written about Pañcarakṣā 'the five protectors' in his book *The Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p.164, ms. B 4: "The first page of each of the five works (charms for warding off evils) has on its middle a vignette, that on the Mahāśītavatī represents a green-coloured goddess with three heads and six hands, seated on two Garuḍas." On p. 165 the fifth of these goddesses is described as "four-headed and ten-handed, and seated on two peacocks. The colour of the goddess is red, but her heads are successively white, red, blue and yellow." With regard to Mahāmāyūrī he describes(p.173)a collection of mantras against snake-poison, which obviously agrees with the Sūtra translated in Chinese. "When the Lord was in the Jeta Grove at Śrāvastī, Ānanda reported that a bhikṣu had been bitten by a black serpent, and was on the point of dying, and thereupon the Lord revealed the mantras. They are all of the same character, full of repetitions, and unintelligible words. The mantras are said to have been originally known to a king of peacocks who dwelt on the southern scarp of the Himalaya, and thence their name Māyūrī or 'relating to a peacock'. I do not agree with this last explanation, because the sūtra is different from Mahāmāyūrī. In the Chinese and Japanese paintings the first one is the peacock, the animal-mount of a deity in human form.

Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'apres des textes inédits*, 2.99-101, names the Mahārakṣās or Pañcarakṣās "the five great protective divinities whom the Buddhists associate with the five senses." He gives them the same names as Winternitz, but no. 4 and 5 have been interchanged. He found their pictures and descriptions in a Bengali ms. of the eleventh century with 36 miniatures at Cambridge (Add.1688). Here Mahāmāyūrī is green and guards over Smell; unfortunately the description of this goddess is not given here though he describes the fifth goddess Mahāśītavatī: "She has four arms and one face; she is red; in her two right hands she holds the rosary and makes the varada mudrā; in her two left hands she holds the hook ornamented with vajra and a book against the breast; her bījākṣara is DĪṀ; Amitābha sits in her tiara; she is seated in Indian style, the legs are half crossed (*ardha-paryaṅka*); she wears diverse ornaments; her seat and her aureole are made of the orb of the sun." He also translates the description of the second goddess: "She is white, has one face, six arms: in her three right hands, sword, arrow and varada mudrā; in her three left hands, bow, noose, axe; she wears various ornaments; endowed with beauty, youth and love; she carries Vairocana in her crown; a lotus and the

Funding by IKS-MoE

moon are her seat and aureole." The foregoing description reveals, how the Tantric priests of the Sung dynasty in China illustrated the originally four-handed Mahāmāyūrī as a six-handed goddess, also changing her attributes from lotus, peacock feathers and two fruits into a bow, arrow, lance and vajra (two hands are joined in reverence, cf. § 4 below). Obviously the figures of the five goddesses have often been interchanged. Foucher also remarks as follows: "These two examples suffice to demonstrate the exceptionally benign and graceful character of this series of miniatures and sādhanas.[2] Unfortunately by the side of this tradition, which must be the most ancient, another conception, completely unreconcilable with it, is already contained in our texts and plays a full role in later manuscripts. According to these new documents, it is no.1 (yellow) who is white, while no.2 (white) becomes blue; no.4 (blue) becomes red; while no. 5 (blue) turns green; finally Mahāmāyūrī (no.3) changes green for yellow. At the same time all multiply the number and magnify at pleasure the horror of their faces and of their attributes; evidently they no longer pass as 'protectrices' unless they appear in frightful forms."

Thus with the passage of time the five 'serene' goddesses emerged as the 'ferocious' ones and Foucher also considered them as such in his third chapter. He found them in an illustrated manuscript of the eleventh century portrayed as "corpulent personages and of ambiguous sex, of a terrible and demoniac character, ordinarily dressed in tiger-skin and enclosed by flames, often having three faces with three eyes and an enormous chevelure of bristling hair, sometimes with the neighing head of a horse. We find on this plate divinities which we are accustomed to term 'tantric' and which are described in the tantras." (Foucher 1.74, compare Pañcakrama, ed. de la Vallée Poussin 1).

Likewise, in the sādhanas described by Foucher 2.65, Mahāmāyūrī is a side figure of Green Tārā: "Another form (of Green Tārā), entirely identical, is termed Varadā or 'the giver of favours', adds to these two assistant figures two more, who are, to the right, Mahāmāyūrī, and to the left, Jāṅgulī." Prof. Grünwedel (*Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 146) describes the goddess Mahāmāyūrī (Tibetan: Ma-bya-c'en-mo) as a popular side figure of Green Tārā, yellow in colour, distinguished by the peacock-tail and buffalo-hide.

---

[2] The sādhanas are means to fulfill wishes with the help of certain serene or ferocious deities or demons. Compare Foucher 1.1.II introd. p.7; Burnouf, *Introd. à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, sect.V p.522; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: études et materiaux* 1898, p.105 ff.

Funding by IKS-MoE

In Lamaism, Mahāmāyūrī is illustrated with Amoghasiddhi in her crown (like Kurukullā) (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p.338). As mentioned above, Vairocana and Amitābha had been represented in the crown of two others of Pañcarakṣā. Obviously these Five were placed adjacent to the Five Dhyāni Buddhas. In Japan it is Vairocana (Dainichi nyorai) who is supposed to be in mystic relation with Mahāmāyūrī. Pander (*Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu,* p.82 no. 178) illustrates Mahāmāyūrī as one with a "serene appearance, seated on a lotus flower, bearing three heads and eight arms. Attributes: vase with spout, discus, sword, pātra with a Buddha image in it, peacock-feather, vase without spout; two hands have no attribute." It is again a young, three-headed but serene looking image.

In China and Japan the elderly, one-headed, serene figure is dominant. It will take too long, if I handle the whole theme regarding these two countries. I want to give here a rather short résumé of the important results of my research. Later I might expand it.

§ 2. THE MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ-SŪTRA

The main source of our knowledge regarding this deity and her cult is the Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra. The Chinese Buddhist Canon contains not less than six translations of this text, which is also available in Sanskrit and Tibetan. It is interesting to see how much freedom the translators have taken in differently interpreting the whole thing. Three early translations, which came out during the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420) were lost as early as 730. Thus the same text was treated nine times. It bears sufficient proof of how valuable this text is in the eyes of the priests. It makes obvious that the Mahāyāna school was founded in the 6th century by Asaṅga long before the establishment of the Tantric school. It held in high esteem the devas, demigods and demons of Hinduism as mighty protectors of those who practised the Mystic Spells, Mantras, tantras of yoga propagated by it. I-tsing and Amoghavajra were the first to render the complete translations of this sūtra in the 8th century. The tantric school made use of this text and propagated the cult in China as a mystic source to obtain rains or to expel the dangerous demons of illness.

From the available six Chinese translations of the sūtra (Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, no. 306-311), no. 309 and 310 are the oldest and shortest (6 and 12 double pages). Poh Śrīmitra, whose name in translation is Kih-yiu 'lucky friend' (Nj. appendix II no. 36), was a śramaṇa from the West (i.e. India), who came to China in the beginning of the fourth century, and did three translations of this sūtra in the years 317-322. Two of them are very short

Funding by IKS-MoE

while one is a bit more detailed. The title is: Fuh-shwoh Ta-k'ung-tsioh-wang (tsah) shen-cheu king 'Sermon by Buddha on the sacred mantras of Mahāmāyūrī'.

Nj. 309 begins as follows: Buddha spoke to Ānanda: "Once upon a time there was a golden Peacock-king in the south of the Himalayas. The Buddha was in him. One morning when the Peacock-king recited the mantras of this Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra to protect himself, there was peace and tranquillity for the whole day, and when he repeated it in the evening there was peace and protection in the night". Buddha then pronounced the dhāraṇī and clarified the heart of the Vidyārājñī Mahāmāyūrī in the same. He also clarified to Maitreya and Śakra Devarāja the interpretation of the Vidyārājñī. He mentioned to Ānanda the names of earlier ṛṣis who like the Catur-mahārājika and the great kings of demons and spirits, by means of the sūtra protect and bestow a hundred years of life on those who chant these dhāraṇīs.

The **second** translation (Nj.310) gives the reason, why Buddha gave the mantras of Mahāmāyūrī to his disciple Ānanda. One day when he was resting in Anāthapiṇḍada Park of Śrāvastī with his disciples, a young monk called 'The Lucky One', who had taken monk's vows a few days back, was bitten by a black snake on his toe, which came out suddenly from under an exotic tree, while gathering wood for heating the bathing-water. The poisonous bite caused him so much pain that he fell down unconscious, his eyes rolling back and forth coming out from his face. Seeing him writhing in pain, Ānanda rushed to the Buddha and asked him, how he could relieve the monk of his agony. The Master told him that he should save the monk by means of mantras of the Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra. He further said that these mantras would destroy the effect of the poison, and also serve as an antidote to any hurt caused by sword and stick. Through these mantras one can make ineffective the evil spells cast by the gods, demigods or demons, can obliterate all types of short and long illnesses, and can protect the concerned person. He spoke the following gāthā-mantra: 'Peace in the day, peace in the night, peace for all time, peace and tranquillity in day and night, shelter of Buddha.' At the end of the sūtra a short instruction is given on how to perform the ritual with lamps, flowers and incense-sticks.

The **third** translation (Nj.311), which dates back to the beginning of the fifth century, is written by Kumārajīva of the Latter Tsin Dynasty (384-417). This Indian śramaṇa came to China in 383 as a war-prisoner, where he translated many Buddhist works in the years 402-412. He gave only one selection of

Funding by IKS-MoE

the sūtra, but again other than the details given by Poh Śrīmitra. The sūtra begins with a list of the names of nāgarājas, who reign over the four directions of the sky, and who took oath in the large assembly of Buddha to protect his Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā mantras. Thereupon the eight nāgarājas, four kings of kinnaras, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, and devas with their thousands of adherents, yakṣarājas, all demons and spirits of the air and the earth were called from all the directions of the sky, so that they could listen to the clarification of the mantras and accomplish their wishes. The holy mantra of the gold-coloured Mahāmāyūrī was presented by Mahā-prajña-pāramitā and by Avalokiteśvara to pay homage to her. Then the Four Guardians of the World, the sun, the moon, and the five planets, the twentyeight constellations, the retinue of Hārīti, and the great nāgarājas were called to protect those who practised these mantras. They would also be protected by Brahmā, the Thirtythree Devas, the gold-coloured Mahāmāyūrī herself, the kings of kumbhāṇḍas and other demons, the kings of the spirits of mountains, trees, rivers, seas, of earth, waters, fire, wind, of yakṣas, rākṣasas, ṛṣis etc. The mantras guard against all poisons, swords and sticks, the deeds of devas, nāgas, garuḍas and demons and from all possible illnesses. The Four Guardians of the World, the demons and their spirits also give dhāraṇīs and mantras, which should be used immediately for warding off all illnesses and calamities, which are brought about by evil spirits, robbers, water, fire, cyclones, domestic quarrels and sudden attacks from wild animals. At the end of the sūtra, a short description of the place (i.e. of the altar) and the ritual is given, where and with what the mantras of Mahāmāyūrī should be chanted.

The **fourth** translation (Nj.308) is more descriptive than the three foregoing. It is divided into two chapters running into 23 and 27 pages. It dates back to the beginning of the 6th century and was translated by a foreign śramaṇa Saṅghavarman[3] of the Liang dynasty in 516. He translated ten or eleven works during the years 506-520 (Nj. app. II no.102).

Here it is mentioned that in ancient times there lived a Peacock King in the Southern Himalayan region who obtained peace and bliss by chanting the Mahāmāyūrī-mantras in the morning, noon, evening and night. He was called the 'Golden Light'. On page 6a we find a passage on this king which is absent from the former three translations. It tells us the incident when once the Pea-

---

[3] The restitution of Saṅghapāla is erroneous; correct it to Saṅghavarman (Sylvain Lévi, Le catalogue des yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī, JA.1915:26). The Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī was translated by Saṅghavarman in A.D. 516.

Funding by IKS-MoE

cock-King forgot to chant the mantra, and in doing so lost his peace and bliss. It caused him to roam endlessly with his entourage of peahens from garden to garden, from place to place and from mountain to mountain. We find the same passage in the fifth translation by I-tsing (Nj.306 chap. 1, p.9a). The story further relates that he along with his peahens wandered aimlessly from jungle to jungle, from mountain to mountain, absorbing himself in carnal pleasures. In the evening when they proceeded to spend the night in a cave, some hunters caught them in their net. Becoming conscious of his mistake he repented and chanted the mantras of Mahāmāyūrī. Immediately he was freed from the vicious net and they all reached their homes safe and sound. On page 7 Buddha explains to Ānanda that he himself was the Peacock-King 'Golden-Light'.

In this translation there is repeated mention of rains. In chapter I (pages 5b, 6b) it is said: "I wish there should be rain all around, in all places"; on page 8a: "I wish that heavens pour down rains in the ninth and tenth months"; on page 10b: "Hail to Tathāgata, I wish the sky rains forth new water". In chapter II (page 25a) it is said: "When there is too much rain or wide-spread drought, mantras of this sūtra must be read, to frighten away all the dragons. If it rains, it will be clear at once; and if there is drought it will start raining at once".

In the end (chap. II, page 26a, b) we find the description of the place and the ritual, and also the scheme of counting the lamps, mirror etc., which we will discuss later.

The **fifth** translation (Nj. 306) is again very lengthy and has three chapters. It was translated by the famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing who travelled in India from 671-695, and came back with approximately 450 Sanskrit texts and some relics. He lived from 635-713 and in 705 he translated this sūtra which lays claim to being the most detailed text. It is partly in verse form (specially chapter II) in lines of five characters. There is nothing new in this text except that it gives a more detailed version of the rituals. The names and the numbers of the various gods, nāgas and other demigods, as well as demons are listed here (e.g. 180 great nāgarājas with their attendants). With the help of the Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī they must protect and grant a hundred years of life to those who chant these mantras. They will shelter them for all times from calamities, illnesses[4], pain, hunger and captivity. All the 404 illnesses and all

---

[4] Whereas the durations of diseases are concerned (chap.I p.4a), 1 to 7 days, half a month, a full month etc. are mentioned. Compare Wylie, On the knowledge of a weekly sabbath in China, *Chinese Recorder* 1872:40-45 (cited by Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p.211).

Funding by IKS-MoE

harm from robbers, water, fire, bad people and animals (snakes etc.) will be obliterated. Poison of every conceivable kind will be rendered harmless. It is prophesized that the mantras of Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī chanted in the advent of torrential rains or excessive drought will gratify the dragons (former translations narrated them as becoming ferocious), who will then put an end to these misfortunes.

The **sixth** translation (Nj.307) belongs to the tantric school. It is translated by Amoghavajra, disciple of Vajrabodhi, with whom he came to China in 719. In 741 he returned to India and returned to China in 746. From 746-771 he translated 77 works, containing more than 120 chapters, presenting them to the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's birthday in 771. The tantric school flourished in China under his influence (Nj. app.II no.155). The title of this complete translation of Amoghavajra consisting of three chapters is different from others. It is : Fuh-mu Ta-k'ung-tsioh ming-wang king 'Buddha-mātṛkā-mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra'. This teacher of tantric doctrines has utilized this very appropriate ancient cult and text with a few changes, for the spread of his teachings. It is peculiar that the tantric school did not cease to describe this figure as a male deity, as is evident from the illustrations to be treated later on. Like all the former translators he has used the word *wang* denoting both 'king' and 'queen'. I presume that there has been some misunderstanding already in ancient times, over the presentation of this figure in China and Japan, as if he was a male deity. It befell the tantric school, beginning from Amoghavajra himself, to spread this text and cult in China and Japan. There is no doubt, that the monks of this school used this very translation in magic ceremonies to bring forth rains and to wipe out the demons of diseases.

The description of the altar, image and rituals has not been given, because its details are found in another work the title of which is "Kalpa or treatise on the painting and the altar of Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī" translated by Amoghavajra (Nj.1399).[5] It belongs to the miscellaneous Indian works of the Canon.

---

[5] *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*

	Nj.	translator	A.D.	extent
1	309	Poh Śrīmitra	317-322	7 leaves
2	310	,,	,,	13 leaves
3	311	Kumārajīva	384-417	13 leaves
4	308	Saṅghavarman	516	2 fasciculi
5	306	I-tsing	705	3 fasciculi
6	307	Amoghavajra	746-771	3 fasciculi
	1399	Amoghavajra	746-771	Mahāmāyūrī- maṇḍala-kalpa

Nanjio renders the title as *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-citra-pratibimba-maṇḍala-kalpa. The Buddha gives to Ānanda a most detailed manual of instructions concerning painting, rituals and offerings, as well as mudrās and tantras. If this lengthy ritual is impossible to perform, then a simple method will suffice. With gratitude Ānanda accepts this detailed clarification from the Buddha, for the future benefit of all people in distress.

§ 3. THE CULTS AND THE RITUAL

The third translation of Kumārajīva (Nj.311) concludes as follows: 'Smear the floor with the dung of a white cow, spreading seven coloured flowers on it. Place 49 (7×7) streamers, 4 swords, 4 mirrors, 100 arrows, 1 bow, 7 pots, 16 clusters of rope of black sheepwool and 25 flags of fine cloth (here obviously a misprint) on it. Further there should be 7 oil-lamps, a bowl of cream, a bowl of meal-pap, a bowl of cooked rice, a bowl of thin slices of cakes, a bowl of honey and a vase with flowers".

The end of the fourth translation of Saṅghavarman (Nj.308) gives more details. It is prescribed herein that the floor should be covered with chalk and dry soil and a three-fold fence should be made protected by the Four Guardians of the World. Five swords, each being five feet long, five five-coloured flags, 21 (3×7) arrows, 21 lamps, and 5 mirrors should be placed there. Incense-sticks should be burnt and the floor should be smeared with perfumed hot water and the urine of a cow. Further mustard-seeds should be burnt in fire to be thrown against evil spirits; and after making the pictures of demons, one should lash them with the branches of a pomegranate tree. In doing so, blood will pour forth from the mouths of the demons. Finally we find here a sketch illustrating the arrangement of lamps, mirrors etc.: in the middle a censer is kept, and on three sides a mirror, a flag and a sword, on the fourth side two mirrors, two flags, and two swords are placed. In the centre of every line, five lamps are kept in a circular form (the censer is also counted as one lamp). One should take into consideration the sacred numbers 3, 5 and 7, probably the tavistic influence has changed the number 4 into 5.

It will take us too long if we go into the minute details of the instructions given at the end of the fifth translation by I-tsing (Nj. 306). Much prominence has been given to paintings. In the centre of the altar (which should be 4 or 5 fingers high and 3 or 4 square ells/forearm, or it can be bigger) a picture of Buddha is placed facing the west, while a picture of Mahāmāyūrī is kept on its left. It can be white or according to the description it can be ornamental.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Another alternative would be to put three or four peacock-feathers on a clean high level surface and smear it with cow-dung. Thereafter offerings should be made to Buddha, Bodhisattva (Mahāmāyūrī), Four Guardians of the World and to their subjects, to gandharvas, kumbhāṇḍas, nāgas and rākṣasas. Further instructions bid the sick person, for whose benefit the rituals are being performed, to sit to the right side of Buddha facing the west. The Mantra-master, facing the east, should caress the body of the sick person with one or two peacock-feathers or with a sort of long grass, chanting the heart-mantras (i.e. of Mahāmāyūrī) 21 times, repeating the sick person's name.

Thereafter follows the description of making the maṇḍala. The Buddha should be golden-coloured, donning robes (kāṣāya) of the colour of peach-flowers and seated on a golden lion-throne. The Mahāmāyūrī is to be painted on his left side, red and white in colour, her clothes in white silk, with four arms having golden attributes, sitting on a lotus-flower or on a golden chair, the fruit of fortune in her left hand (according to the commentary it is a yellow red fruit not available in China), and in the other three hands she holds three peacock-feathers. Between the Buddha and Bodhisattva one should paint the image of a golden-coloured peacock-king standing on a magnificent lotus-flower. On his chest one should paint a svastikā with cow-bezoar. On one side of Buddha a picture of holy Ānanda kneeling with hands folded, should be made along with an intervening Vajrapāṇi bearing a white chowrie in his right hand and a vajra in his left. All around the Buddha, various types of fruits and flowers are to be placed. On four sides the Four Guardians of the World are painted with their numerous attendants (gandharvas, kumbhāṇḍas, nāgas, and rākṣasas), in the four continents, take on their forms of half moon, of a triangle, of a full moon and of a quadrangle. This picture should be kept in the centre of the altar, their fronts facing the west. When there is moonlight, the offerings are to be brought and the mantras chanted. Thereafter while reading the mantras, virgins put a 108 knots in silk threads, which can then be used as a talisman to protect the bodies of those who are wearing them around their elbows.

Five balls are mentioned here which serve as a magic means against all diseases and to fulfill all wishes. One is made of gold, one of silver, one of copper, one of zinc and one of iron, their size being that of the stone of a date. They should be kept on seven leaves of the Bodhi tree (if it is not available, those of the mulberry tree can be used) in front of the painting, and in a hole in the earth a special kind of wood, butter and mustard seeds are to be burnt simultaneously with the chanting of the mantra. The reading of 800 mantras on

Funding by IKS-MoE

these balls, one kept in the mouth, will fulfill all wishes and ward off all diseases.

Another method prescribes the use of a place, where a dead body is kept, or at a crossing, keeping the Four Lokapālas on four sides and offering food and drinks, incense and flowers, but no painted picture should be kept there. Thereupon a good dream in the night will indicate that all his wishes will be fulfilled.

In general the above-mentioned methods drive off fear, disease and danger. A peacock-feather with a charm spoken over it will ensure immediate recovery when rubbed on a child who is sick or possessed by a demon. Also the wearing of the magic band (obviously the above-mentioned threads fastened together) drives off all diseases.

The formula of the above-mentioned kalpa (Nj. 1399) is much more detailed. Here we are completely on tantric ground, coming into contact with rituals and paintings, which have been mostly used by the priests of this school. The maṇḍala of Mahāmāyūrī and its surroundings must be like this: in the centre one paints the Bodhisattva Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī facing the east seated on an eight-petalled lotus, white coloured, wearing fine white silk, diadem, necklace, diamond earrings, bracelet, and all kinds of jewel ornaments and riding on a golden peacock-king. She sits cross-legged on a white or blue lotus-flower (on the back of the peacock), with a friendly and sympathetic expression on her face. She has four arms, in her first right hand she is holding an open-petalled lotus-flower, in the second a fruit, which resembles a quince. In her first left hand, on her breast, she is holding the 'fruit of prosperity', which is similar to a peach or a plum, in the second she has a 3- or 5-coloured peacock-tail (in the pictures found in Japan, she is holding only a peacock-feather). On her right side Seven Buddhas, from Vipaśyī to Śākyamuni and Bodhisattva Maitreya are painted, with Four Pratyekabuddhas on the four sides of the middle plan and on the corners the four great disciples Ānanda, Rāhula, Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana. On the eight sides of the second plan one should paint Devarājas with their followers: in the east Indra, in the south-east Agni, in the south Yama, in the south-west Rākṣasa (=Nirṛti), in the west Varuṇa, in the north-west Vāyu, in the north Vaiśravaṇa and in the north-east Śiva. On the third plan the 28 great chiefs of rākṣasas and the twelve Signs of the Zodiac are painted along with the offerings.

As far as the ritual is concerned, three or five to seven persons should read this sūtra continuously day and night by turns from one to seven days. By means

Funding by IKS-MoE

of different mudrās, which are mentioned (the last one is that of Mahāmāyūrī herself) and tantras, one should call Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, devas, demons, spirits and all saints. By doing this, the person concerned will be protected from all possible misfortunes, drought, diseases, evil demons, poisons etc.

If it is impossible to perform the lengthy ritual, it is sufficient to put a painting of Buddha and a 3-5 feathered peacock-tail on a simple altar and to burn incense, to offer flowers, milk, rice-milk and cream. Further one should read this sūtra partly one or three to seven times within one to two days. This simple method can suffice to free one from fears and evils, and to gain fulfilment of all his prayers and wishes.

§ 4. THE PAINTINGS OF MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ IN JAPAN

Out of the several paintings of this figure preserved in Japan, the most famous ones are from the temple Anrakuju-in (also known as Anrakuji) in Kyoto (Kokkwa 60.221 ff, pl. I) from the collection of Mr. Hara Tomitaro in Yokohama (Kokkwa 200.562-564, pl. II) and from the Ninnaji temple in Kyoto (Kokkwa 309.197, pl. III). The former two belong to the Fujiwara period, i.e. from 10 and 12 centuries and represent the type, as the tantric school described it in the time of the T'ang dynasty (618-906). This type tallies with the description of this sūtra and above-mentioned kalpa: four-armed, and with the following attributes: a blooming lotus on a long stalk, two fruits (one round and grey, the other one red and like pomegranate) and a peacock-feather. On the head is a high tiara, on the breast a golden, richly ornamented necklace, and the arms are decorated with golden ornaments. She is sitting cross-legged on a lotus, on the back of a peacock, with a wonderful tail spread like a magnificent shining crown. The right foot is resting on the left knee with the sole facing upwards, the left foot is concealed under the right leg (subactive pose, unlike the complete Buddha-posture, i.e. the diamond-pose). In the second painting (Kokkwa 200) in each corner a bowl is kept bearing fruits with a three-pronged vajra emerging from them (a symbol of the tantric school). A small moustache and an imperial beard indicate that it is a male figure in China and Japan. The modern Japanese authors mostly name this deity Mahāmāyūra vidyārāja. As mentioned above, this disagrees with the facts and also with the mystic title 'Buddha-mother'.

The third painting (Kokkwa 309 pl. III, Tajima, Select Relics III pl. IV) is a Chinese piece from the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279) painted by Chang sze-kung. It is kept in the old Shingon temple Ninnaji in Kyoto and gives us a picture of the alterations, which the tantric school brought forth at the time of Sung dynasty. This figure does not have four arms but six and its attributes are also completely different, i.e. a hellebarde (incorrectly called 'shield' in the Kokkwa), two arrows, a five-pronged vajra and a bow, the two lowest hands folded in reverence (cf. above § 1), bearing the Bodhisattva crown on her head. However the posture remains unchanged where she is sitting on a lotus-cushion on the back of a peacock. The individual realism, which is the special characteristic of the art of painting of the southern Sung dynasty, is very evident in this piece, although the work of the tantric school from which this form has been derived is unknown. The moustache and imperial beard indicate very clearly that it is a male figure.

Sculptures of this figure are fewer in number than its paintings. A beautiful example of the former is the polychrome wooden figure of Mahāmāyūrī in the Kongobuji at Koyasan (Kokkwa 295.157 pl. VIII). This figure dating back to the Kamakura period (1192-1333), has been made according to the old description: four-armed, with attributes of the lotus, two fruits and a peacock-feather (the last one is invisible, perhaps it has been broken).

§ 5. MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ'S PLACE IN THE TAIZŌKAI-MANDARA, AND FURTHER MYSTIC CHARACTERISTICS

The Japanese dictionary of esoterism, *Himitsu jirin* (published by Kaji Sekaisha in 1910) describes Kujaku myō-ō on p. 186 and gives its form in Sanskrit as 'Mayūra'. In the Taizōkai mandara i. e. maṇḍala of the Garbhadhātu, or womb-world of phenomena (in opposition to the Kongōkai, Vajradhātu or the diamond-world of ideas) it is placed sixth from the southern end of the Susiddhi division (Soshijji-in). This division (p. 675 f.) is the second row from the bottom edge and is the counterpart of the Mañjuśrī division (Monju-in) which is to be found on the above edge of the maṇḍala. In the center of the eight-petalled division (Hachijo-in), which, like an eight-petalled lotus, is the middle terrace of the maṇḍala, sits Mahāvairocana, Dainichi Nyorai and surrounding him are four Buddhas and four Bodhisattvas representing the eight petals.

When we compare the plan of this maṇḍala with the one on p. 718 we see our figure placed sixth from the right (i. e. from the southern edge) in the second division of the western edge. From the right side in one row two groups of four Bodhisattvas are made:

1.	Kongō myō-ō	Vidyottama
2.	Kongōshō	Vajrasena
3.	Kongō-gundari	Vajra-kuṇḍalī

4.	Fukū-kongō	Amoghavajra
5.	Fukūkuyō	Amoghapūjāmaṇi
6.	Kujaku Myō-ō	Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī
7.	Ikke rasetsu	Ekajaṭī rākṣas[ī]
8.	Jūichimen Kwannon	Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara

Here we see a Bodhisattva, who bears the same name as the great priest of the tantric school, Amoghavajra, in a row of eight Bodhisattvas with Avalokiteśvara and with Mahāmāyūrī respected by Amoghavajra, who propagated the mystic cult of Mahāmāyūrī in China through his new translation of her sūtra and the use of mantras and rituals given therein. Her attributes, the peacock-feather and the blooming lotus are easily recognizable, but here the peacock itself is not introduced.

The mystic symbol (sammaya-gyō, sankyō) of Mahāmāyūrī is the peacock-tail, likewise the sword is that of Fudō Myō-ō or Acala Vidyārāja, the costly pearl is of Hōshō Nyorai or Ratna-sambhava Tathāgata and the medicine-pot is of Yakushi Nyorai or Bhaiṣajyaguru Tathāgata (cf. *Himitsu jirin*, p. 430 s. v. sammayagyō).

As always in this school, we see a special sign in Indian script as Mahāmāyūrī's mystic sign (shuji or bījākṣara). Her mystic mudrā, where both her hands are kept against each other on the back, and the two thumbs and small fingers united upright, denotes a dancing bird. The small fingers symbolize the tail, the thumbs the head and the remaining six fingers the wings, with which fluttering movements are made while reciting the mantra of the deity. Her mantra (shingon) is: 'svāhā to peacock'.

For the maṇḍala of this deity we can compare the illustration in *Himitsu jirin*, p. 184 f.

§ 6. THE USE OF MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ-RITES BY THE TANTRIC SCHOOL IN CHINA AND JAPAN

In the end the following facts can disclose to us as to how they practised these rites in China and Japan.

With reference to China, I-tsing's biography (Nj. 1495 ch. 1 p. 7a) reveals that he translated the sūtra (Nj. 306) in 705, but as the practice of the cult is not mentioned, it was obviously the tantric school which innovated it. In the same biographic work (Nj. 1495, written in 988) we read that when all attempts to bring forth rain to the drought-ridden country in the summer of the fifth year of the T'ien pao period (746) failed; on the orders of the Emperor, Amoghavajra (biography, ch. I, p. 14b; cf. also p. 16b) accomplished the task within three days by erecting the Mahāmāyūrī altar. The Emperor rewarded Amoghavajra with monastic robes and two hundred rolls of silk. When, through his mystic powers he was successful in taming the thunderstorms, the Emperor bestowed on him the title 'Storehouse of Wisdom'. In the first year of Kien-yuen period (758) he erected an altar in the palace on orders of the Emperor and then he practised the rites for protection. He also translated the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, which deals with the protection bestowed by (the five) benevolent gods (Nj. 965, cf. 17, 1406, 1419, 1435, 1566, 1567. Nj. 1495 ch. III, p. 8a, 9b, 17b). This mystic cult used for warding off all evil effects, gained greater importance than the Mahāmāyūrī rites in China as well as in Japan later on, but they are very closely related. The Mahāmāyūrī rite was specifically applied to get rain.

In the 8th century the tantric school propagated the practice of these sūtras in China and in 806 they were introduced into Japan by Kōbō Daishi, the great founder of Shingon or tantra sect in Japan. He handed over a report to the Emperor in the 11th month of the year 810, in which he mentioned the Peacock-sūtra, the above mentioned Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra and the sūtra dealing with dhāraṇīs for the protection of the Head of State (Nj. 978, translated by Prājña during A.D. 785-810), put them together and designated them as the Three Texts, according to whose prescriptions, he (Kōbō Daishi) himself performed the Three Great Rites (San ta fo=tri-mahā-kalpa), though his biography is silent about the performance of Māyūrī rites. Then he wrote a treatise titled: Kujakukyō kaidai 'An introduction to the Māyūrī-sūtra'. His disciple Shinzai (800-860) also dedicated a work to this Sūtra, namely Kujakukyō shohon-shō-shū 'Collection of texts on Māyūrī-sūtra'. In the 10th century another Shingon priest Junjū wrote a text on the rituals of the Peacock-sūtra (Kujakukyō-hō-shō). Later, in the 13th century a treatise on this sūtra was written under the title Kujakokyō by a Shingon priest Dōhan (1184-1252). This century marked the end of these rituals in Japan.

The biographies of Shingon priests are detailed in the great and excellent Japanese Buddhist Biographical Dictionary, *Nihon Bukke jimmei jisho*, compiled and published by Washio Junkei in 1903. It is a very good source for this theme. As far as I can discern, the Māyūrī rites are mentioned for the first time in the biography of the priest Shōshin (1005-1085), i. e. of the Imperial Prince Shimei. He was the fourth son of the Emperor Sanjō, gaining the privilege of being the first Imperial prince who became a monk and held the highest rank. In the year 1065 he prayed for the health of the Crown Prince, and in

Funding by IKS-MoE

1068 he performed the Māyūrī rites in the palace, on orders of the Emperor. It is mentioned in the *Fusō ryakki* 'Short History of Japan' the famous text of the 12th century (Kokushi taikei 6.812, ch. XXIX, Chūryaku 4=1068, third month). Perhaps the death of Kwampaku the Chancellor shocked the Emperor; in any case he had too much of confidence in the wonderful blessing power of Mahāmāyūrī and in the virtue and ability of the Prince. The ritual continued for 21 days, and on the last day the Emperor rewarded a disciple of the Prince by raising him to the rank of a Gonrisshi. According to the biography, the Prince performed this ritual again in the year 1082 in Rokujō palace and he was promoted to the second rank. But according to *Fusō ryakki* (ch. XXX, p. 834) in the same year in Shinsen-en, the famous park in Kyoto, he performed the rite of the Mahāmegha-sūtra for rains (cf. de Visser, 'The dragon in China and Japan', p. 25 and 161 ff.). He practised the Māyūrī rites twenty times in his life, and always with good success. No wonder, all his contemporaries believed him to be a reincarnation of Kōbō Daishi.

The 12th century was obviously the golden age of this rite. Kwanjo (1057-1125) practised it in 1110 to prevent the misfortune which was noticed by the appearance of a comet, and in 1124 in connection with child-bearing by the Empress. This Shingon priest also made use of this Māyūrī rite twenty times in his life. Shōkaku (1057-1129) performed it in 1125 to protect the pregnant Empress from all ill effects. In 1139 it was Kakuhō (1091-1153), in 1178 Shūkaku (1150-1202), a Prince of royal blood, who made use of it for the benefit of the royal family and the country. Jōkai (1075-1149) was made the prior of the Toji monastery in 1130, because he could bring forth rain by means of this ritual while serving in the Daigoji monastery. Illness or minor ailments of the Emperor were cured in this way in 1132 by Shōei (1094-1137), in 1141 and 1144 by Kakuhō.

In the 13th century Kakuki, Dōjin (1206-1249, an Imperial Prince) and (as last) Hōjo (1227-1284, a Fujiwara) practised it in the years, 1210, 1229 and 1264. In the first two cases the reason is not given, but Hōjo practised the Māyūrī rites for the 'happiness of the kingdom' (*kokuso*).

Beside this rite we also find the ritual of the Great Bear (hoku-to-hō), for example, Kwanjo (1057-1125) and Shūkaku made use of it (the last one practised it to cure the Emperor). Shūkaku also performed the rite of Ekākṣara Cakravartin (Ichiji kinrin no hō, compare Nj. 532, 1023, 1024, 1331, 1401, 1434), when an earthquake terrified the surroundings of Kyoto. The rite of Five Altars (Godan no hō or Godampō, Cult of the Five Great Vidyārājas, e. g.

Funding by IKS-MoE

performed by Kwanjo in 1121, when the Emperor Shirakawa was feeling unwell), the rite of above-mentioned Mahāmegha-sūtra, the Great Rite of the (five) Benevolent Kings (Ninnō daihō) and all types of rites were performed by the Shingon priests with good success.

As in China, the prayer for rain was a very important point in the Mahāmāyūrī cult. It does not come forth so much in the above-mentioned biographies as in *Himitsu jirin* the dictionary of esoterism. We read there (s. v. Kujakukyō-hō, p. 184 f.), that the famous Shingon priest Shōbō (832-909), as well as Jinkwan in 1047, Saien in 1067, and Jōken in 1089 performed this rite to bring forth rain. It is doubtful to some extent as it is not mentioned in Shōbō's biography. But it is certain that in the 11th and 12th centuries many famous Shingon priests practised the Mahāmāyūrī rites successfully. They performed it on the orders of the Emperor to bring forth rain, to enable the Empress to have a comfortable delivery, and to protect the Emperor from disease or minor ailments. In the 13th century the practice of the Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra declined, abruptly ceasing after its last performance in 1264 when it was used to bring happiness to the kingdom.

Funding by IKS-MoE

ALEX WAYMAN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

A REPORT ON THE AKṢAYAMATINIRDEŚASŪTRA

(BUDDHIST DOCTRINAL HISTORY, STUDY 2)*

INTRODUCTION

The Buddhist text here discussed is called the *Ārya-Akṣayamatinirdeśa-sūtra*. The title means, the noble scripture (*ārya-sūtra*) called "Exposition of the Bodhisattva Inexhaustible Mind." This has not been for many centuries a famous Mahāyāna scripture as are ten or more that can be named. However, it may well have been a preeminent sūtra when it was composed, as this report will suggest, in the 2d century A.D. Of course, Buddhist scholars have noticed its title as the most frequently cited work in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Specialists in the Mādhyamika have found it to be the scripture appealed to by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* commentary for the Mādhyamika theory of two kinds of sūtras, those of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*) and those of final meaning (*nītārtha*). My report has a surprising observation about Candrakīrti's citations as also the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra's* citation of this sūtra. It has sometimes been confused with a much smaller work, the *Ārya-Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā-sūtra* (the noble scripture called "Questions of Akṣayamati"), which is part of the *Ratnakūṭa* collection of Mahāyāna scriptures and which is quite different in subject matter.

The *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* was probably the chief doctrinal work in the earliest Mahāyāna sūtra collection called the *Mahāsamnipāta*, which means "the great assemblage." This collection was first translated into Chinese in the later Han (late 2d cent. A.D.) by Lokakṣema, a version not extant. My studies around the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* have ascertained that this text has important implications for the early history of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus, once this sūtra was of high authority for both the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools of the Mahāyāna. It was one of a number of Mahāyāna scriptures using the name Śāradvatīputra instead of the usual Śāriputra. A translation of this scripture will help unravel the indebtedness of Mahāyāna to the earlier Buddhism and demonstrate how a comprehensive coverage of the main doctrinal points was feasible in the 2d century A.D. It may prove itself capable of shedding light on how a Buddhist scripture contributed to religious theory and practice of India in the somewhat obscure century just prior to the rise of the Gupta Dynasty and how it transferred its influence to Asian countries.

---

* Study 1 in this series was published in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 1:1(1978).

Following is an outline of the present paper: I. Place of the sūtra in early Mahāyāna: A. The name Śāradvatīputra; B. The *Mahāsamnipāta* collection: C. The structure of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*; D. *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*. II. Citation of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*: A. Śāntideva's citations; B. The *Sūtrasamuccaya*; C. Sthiramati's citations; D. Candrakīrti's citations; E. The *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* attributed to Nāgārjuna; F. Citations by Āryaśūra, Kamalaśīla, and Atīśa; G. The *Ārya-Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā*. III. Later Indian associations of the sūtra: A. General Mahāyāna; B. Abhayākaragupta's difficulty; C. The Tanjur commentary ascribed to Vasubandhu.

I. PLACE OF THE SŪTRA IN EARLY MAHĀYĀNA

A. *The name Śāradvatīputra*. A clue to the dating of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the monk circle responsible for its composition appears in the *sūtra's* employment of the form Śāradvatīputra instead of the more usual form Śāriputra. Vimalamitra, who has written commentaries on both the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*, which employs the form Śāradvatīputra, and the *Heart sūtra*, which employs the form Śāriputra, says in his commentary on the *Heart sūtra*: "A woman was born in the family of Śāradvat; because of being her son, he is (called) Śāriputra."[1] However, according to the Pāli Buddhism tradition which uses the form Sāriputta, his father was the brahmin Vaṅganta and his mother Rūpasārī, and his name is based on his mother's, thus 'son of Sārī.'[2]

Among other sūtras using the name Śāradvatīputra, there is the largest *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture, the *Śatasāhasrikā*, and one of the smallest, the *Saptaśatikā*, as above. The name in this form appears in the Kashgar Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, where this celebrated disciple of the Buddha is the interlocutor in the important chapters II Upāyakauśalya, and III Upamā.[3] Atīśa in one work[4] cites the *Ārya-kuśalamūla-paridhara-sūtra* with this form of the name,

---

[1] Japanese photo edition of Tibetan canon (PTT), Vol. 94, p. 280-3-6, 7, in Vimalamitra's *Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-ṭīkā*.

[2] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London, 1960), Vol. II, p. 1108.

[3] See Hirofumi Toda, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Kashgar Manuscript (II-III), Revised edition, *Tokushima Daigaku Kyōyōbu Rinrigakka Kiyō*, 1979, pp. 20-52.

[4] Atīśa's *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāta-nāma-madhyamakopadeśa*, PTT, Vol. 102, p. 58-5-1 and p. 59-3-5. I checked the *Kuśalamūlaparidhara* in the Narthang Kanjur and found one section with Śāradvatīputra as interlocutor.

Funding by IKS-MoE

and in another work[5] shows the same form in a citation from the *Rab tu rnam par 'byed pa'i mdo,* which is another name for the *Buddhapiṭakaduḥśīlanigrāhī-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra.*[5] Both these sūtras are moralistic works; and since the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* is in the Chinese canon included in the Mahāsamnipāta collection, we note that the latter moralistic sūtra includes a passage mentioning a threefold recitation of the line, "Oh, the Mahāsamnipāta is the excellent word of Śākyamuni and the accompaniments of non-discerning practice."[6]

The *Sūtrasamuccaya* attributed to Nāgārjuna has this form both in citations from the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (hence presumably the *Śatasāhasrikā* or the *Saptaśatikā* as well as the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa.*[7] The *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* furnishes the only sūtra citation by Śāntideva that has the name Śāradvatīputra.[8]

Edgerton[9] mentions that the form is found in several story collections, expressly *Jātakamālā* (in the interpolated verses concluding Jātaka No. 19), *Avadānaśataka* (2d cent.), and *Divyāvadāna.*[10] The *Divyāvadāna* took many of its stories from the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya,* but has only a couple of references to Śāradvatīputra and often uses the form Śāriputra. Besides, the recent edition of that Vinaya's *Saṅghabhedavastu* gives the name in the form Śāriputra.[11]

In short, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* appears to have been composed in the monk circle responsible for the original form of the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the *Saptaśatikā* among the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures, and for the *Kuśalamūlaparidhara* and the *Buddhapiṭaka* among the miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras, and even for an early form of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. This circle of monks presumably operated in Northwest India, from which their scriptural influence spread to Central Asia as well as elsewhere in India.

---

[5] Atīśa's *Mahā-sūtrasamuccaya-nāma,* PTT, Vol. 103, p. 71-2-8 to 72-1-5. The passage contains a prophecy which Lin Li-kouang, *L'Aide-Mémoire de la Vraie Loi* (Paris, 1949), p. 191, mentioned as being in the *Buddha-piṭaka-sūtra.* Checking this sūtra in its Tibetan version in the Narthang Kanjur, Mdo sna tshogs, Vol. Tsa, I found at the end Atīśa's title given as an alternate name of the sūtra, "*mdo sde rab tu rnam par 'byed pa źes bya ba daṅ.*" However, except for one occurrence of the name Śāradvatīputra near the beginning of the sūtra, all the other occurrences had apparently been doctored in the Tibetan version to the standard form Śāriputra. Furthermore, in my cursory checking of the Tibetan version I failed to notice the passage which Atīśa had cited.

[6] Narthang Kanjur, Mdo sna tshogs, Vol. Tsa, f. 15b-7.

[7] *Sūtrasamuccaya,* PTT, Vol. 102, p. 88-2-8 and 107-2-3 in citations of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,* and p. 85-1-3 in citation of *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra.*

[8] Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya,* Vaidya ed., 88.7 and 151.26.

[9] Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953), p. 526.

[10] Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II (University of Calcutta, 1933), points out that the *Avadānaśataka* in older than the *Divyāvadāna* and is reasonably ascribed to the 2d century (his p. 279), which is of course the date I am arguing on behalf of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa.* The two *Avadānaśataka* references are in the stories *Dharmagaveṣī* and *Lekuñcika.*

[11] Raniero Gnoli, ed. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* Part I (Roma, 1977), p. 171, ff.; Part II (Roma, 1978), p. 205, ff.

B. *The Mahāsamnipāta collection*. The first translation of the *Mahāsamnipāta* into Chinese is attributed to Lokakṣema, last quarter, 2d cent. A.D. (later Han); but this is lost.[12] Lokakṣema is the earliest translator of Mahāyāna-type works into Chinese; and some of his translations have survived, which, along with other translations later in the same 2d cent., show that the kinds of works such as the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, and others known to be included in the later Chinese *Mahāsamnipāta*, are precisely kinds of works being translated at that time.[13] Adding to this the exemplary record-keeping of the Chinese, it appears reasonable to accept this tentative attribution to the 2d cent. A.D., which I shall further strengthen by internal considerations of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*.

The earliest extant translation of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* into Chinese is the version by Dharmarakṣa of the Western Chin in 307 A.D. The *Mahāvaipulya-mahāsamnipāta-sūtra* was translated by Dharmakṣema toward the close of the Eastern Chin Dynasty in perhaps the second decade, fifth cent., at West Liang. This work is still extant and catalogued as Taishō No. 397, of which the twelfth work is the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*; however, the version preserved here is in fact the collaborated translation of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* in the early Liu Sung Dynasty by Chih-yen and Pao-yün, soon after 427 A.D.[14] There are catalog difficulties for determining when the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* was translated into Tibetan. The Chinese and Tibetan versions give clear indications that this sūtra was regarded as a chapter of a collection. If one judges from the following remarks taken from the prologue and epilogue of the Tibetan translation, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* was in both the original Indian collection of the *Mahāsamnipāta* and its late Han Dynasty translation into Chinese. Thus the prologue: "Furthermore, the Bhagavat Tathāgata Śākyamuni taught the *dharmaparyāya* called 'chapter of Mahāsamnipāta'." Again, in the epilogue: "The bodhisattva Akṣayamati...... so as to honor this *dharmaparyāya* of *Mahāsamnipāta*, transmitted these enumerations of *dharma*." And later in the epilogue: "this *dharmaparyāya* as a chapter of the *Mahāsamnipāta*."[15]

---

[12] Cf. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, Tome I (Paris, 1927), p. 43.

[13] Bagchi (*op. cit.*), Tome I, Chapitre I (Les traducteurs et les traductions des Han postérieurs, 68-220 A.D.), mentions such works, still extant, as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, *Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Pratyutpanna-Buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi*, *Drumakinnara-paripṛcchā*, *Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā*, *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*.

[14] Cf. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (San Francisco reprint, 1975), nos. 74 and 77. Also, as read for me by my wife Hideko, Ono Genmyō, *Bussho Kaisetsu daijiten*, Sōron (Tokyo, 1936), p. 89 (for the West Liang), and p. 103 (for the 427 A.D.).

Concerning the Indian form of the collection, this is of course a most difficult matter. The *Mahāsamnipāta* section of the Chinese canon contains the large work *Mahāvaipulya-mahāsamnipāta-sūtra* and other scriptures, some of which are included in the *Mahāvaipulya* work and others not.[16] The Tibetan canon does not have a *Mahāsamnipāta* section, but preserves the relevant sūtras in the miscellaneous sūtra section. With the help of the Tohoku catalog of the Tibetan Derge canon,[17] I find these sūtras in Tibetan that are equivalent to various ones of the 17 fascicles of the *Mahāvaipulya-mahāsamnipāta*, namely, *Tathāgata-mahākaruṇānirdeśa*, Taishō No. 397/1-2; *Mahāyānopadeśasūtra*, No. 397/3; *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā*, No. 397/5; *Gaganagañja*, No. 397/8; *Mahāsamnipāta-ratnaketudhāraṇī*, No. 397/9; *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, No. 397/12; *Sūryagarbha*, No. 397/14; *Tathāgata-śrīsamaya*, No. 397/16. Of these, the *Ratnaketudhāraṇī* has been edited in Sanskrit from a single incomplete manuscript.[18] So far the original Indian form of *Mahāsamnipāta* is unknown. Thus, the mere presence of sūtras in the fifth cent. translation into Chinese of the *Mahāsamnipāta* does not prove that these were in the earliest make-up of this collection, but does point to them as excellent candidates for the status.

C. *The structure of the Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*. A lengthy prologue, the *nidāna*. Then 80 akṣaya-s, the word meaning 'inexhaustible,' that is to say, the sūtra intends to give so many aspects to each topic as to render the topic 'inexhaustible.'

---

[15] *Akṣayamatinirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*, PTT, Vol. 34, p. 39-3-8 (in prologue); p. 73-1-7 and p. 73-5-2 (in epilogue).

[16] Nanjio (*op. cit.*), *A Catalogue*, "Tâ-tsi pu, or Mahāsannipāta Class," pp. 27-34.

[17] *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. by Hakuju Ui, et al (Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934). This catalogue provides for each Tibetan title, if a Chinese version exists, the Chinese title and both Taishō and Nanjio number(s).

[18] Nalinaksha Dutt, ed., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. IV (Calcutta, 1959), Introduction, i-xiv, and pp. 1-138.

No. 1, generating the mind (of enlightenment) (*cittotpāda*).

No. 2, resolve (*āśaya*).

No. 3, praxis (*prayoga*).

No. 4, aspiration (*adhyāśaya*).

Nos. 5-10, the six perfections (*pāramitā*)— 5. giving (*dāna*), 6. morality (*śīla*), 7. forbearance (*kṣānti*), 8. striving (*vīrya*), 9. meditation (*dhyāna*), 10. insight (*prajñā*).

Nos. 11-14, the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*)— 11. friendliness (*maitrī*), 12. compassion (*karuṇā*), 13. sympathetic joy (*muditā*), 14. equanimity (*upekṣā*).

Nos. 15-19, the five supernormal faculties (*abhijñā*)—15. divine eye (*divya-cakṣus*), 16. divine hearing (*divya-śrotra*), 17. knowing others' minds (*paracitta-jñāna*), 18. knowledge of remembering previous lives (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*), 19. knowledge of magical practice (*ṛddhi-vidhi-jñāna*).

Nos. 20-23, the four means of conversion (*saṃgrahavastūni*)—20. giving (*dāna*), 21. pleasing words (*priya-vāditā*), 22. promoting aims (*artha-caryā*), 23. common purpose (*samānārthatā*).

Nos. 24-27, four special knowledges (*pratisaṃvid*)— 24. of meaning (*artha*), 25. of natures (*dharma*), 26. of languages (*nirukti*), 27. of eloquence (*pratibhāna*).

Nos. 28-31, four final resorts (*pratisaraṇa*)— 28. on meaning rather than word, 29. on knowledge (*jñāna*) rather than perception (*vijñāna*), 30. on final meaning (*nītārtha*) rather than provisional meaning (*neyārtha*) scriptures, 31. on true nature (*dharma*) rather than a person (*pudgala*).

No. 32, collection of merit (*puṇya-saṃbhāra*).

No. 33, collection of knowledge (*jñāna-sambhāra*).

Nos. 34-70, the 37 bodhipakṣyadharma-s, namely: Nos. 34-37, four stations of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*)—34. on bodies, 35. on feelings, 36. on thoughts (*citta*), 37. on natures (*dharma*). 38-41, four right elimination-exertions (*samyakprahāṇa*). 42-45, feet of magical power (*ṛddhi-pāda*)—42. longing (*chanda*), 43. striving (*vīrya*), 44. reflecting (*citta*), 45. penetrating (*mīmāṃsā*). 46-50, five faculties (*indriya*)— 46. faith (*śraddhā*), 47. striving (*vīrya*), 48. mindfulness (*smṛti*), 49. concentration (*samādhi*), 50. insight (*prajñā*). 51-55, five powers (*bala*), faith, etc. 56-62, seven enlightenment-ancillaries (*bodhyaṅga*)— 56. mindfulness (*smṛti*), 57. analysis of the *dharma* (*dharmapravicaya*), 58. striving (*vīrya*), 59. joy (*prīti*), 60. cathartic (*praśrabdhi*), 61. concentration (*samādhi*), 62. equanimity (*upekṣā*). 63-70, eight-membered path (*aṣṭāṅga-*

mārga)— 63. right views (*samyag-dṛṣṭi*), 64. right reflections (*samyak-saṃkalpa*), 65. right speech (*samyag-vāk*), 66. right bodily acts (*samyak-karmānta*), 67. right living (*samyag-ājīva*), 68. right effort (*samyag-vyāyāma*), 69. right mindfulness (*samyak-smṛti*), 70. right concentration (*samyak-samādhi*).

No. 71. calming (*śamatha*).

No. 72. discerning (*vipaśyanā*)

No. 73. memory (*dhāraṇī*).

No. 74. eloquence (*pratibhāna*).

Nos. 75-78, the four epitomes of the dharma: 75. All saṃskāras are impermanent. 76. All saṃskāras are suffering. 77. All dharmas are non-self. 78. Nirvāṇa is quiescent.

No. 79. the solitary path (*ekayānamārga*).

No. 80. the means (*upāya*).

Finally, the epilogue, mainly the *dharmaparyāya*.

The order of the 80 akṣayas in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* solves a problem which eluded Sylvain Lévi when he edited the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*,[19] and in the Sanskrit commentary on Chapter Four found a reference to the *Āryākṣayamatisūtra* as authority for the twenty-two forms of generating the mind of enlightenment. With his usual scholarly thoroughness he hunted in vain through the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* in the Chinese *Mahāsamnipāta* collection; and, as I did, also looked through the *Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā* in the *Ratnakūṭa* collection. However, the 22 similes with explanation in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* follow the precise order of the 80 akṣayas of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, in this manner: The first ten generations go with the first ten akṣayas. Then generation 11 with akṣayas 11-14; generation 12 with akṣayas 15-19; generation 13 with akṣayas 20-23; generation 14 with akṣayas 24-27; generation 15 with akṣayas 28-31; generation 16 with akṣayas 32-33; generation 17 with akṣayas 34-70; generation 18 with akṣayas 71-72; generation 19 with akṣayas 73-74; generation 20 with akṣayas 75-78; generation 21 with akṣaya 79; and generation 22 with akṣaya 80. The 22 similes did not come from the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, but from various sources, such as the Prajñāpāramitā scripture.[20]

D. *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra and Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra.* One reason for dating

---

[19] Sylvain Lévi, ed., *Asaṅga, Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra* (Paris, 1907), p. 17, n.

[20] The present writer has discussed these 22 similes in a paper, "The *samādhi* lists of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*," forthcoming in Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium, Sept. 1979, ed. by Louis Ligeti.

Funding by IKS-MoE

the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* early, and sufficiently so to have been included in the late Han *Mahāsamnipāta*, is that there is evidence the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* may have followed very quickly another early sūtra, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, which later became part of the *Ratnakūṭa* collection. Many of the topics are in common, especially the treatment of six perfections (*pāramitā*) as individual topics and not in association with the Bodhisattva Stages (*bhūmi*), and also the material employed under the six pāramitā-s.

The *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* contains both verse and prose passages, with a rather loose, rambling structure.[21] The *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, in contrast, appears to have resorted only to prose (excepting a few prologue gāthās) so as to compress as much data as possible under each named akṣaya. For this purpose it appears to have freely used certain lists and passages of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, either word for word, or adapting material for its own purpose. Thus it is tightened up, and more acutely organized than is the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*. Now, theoretically, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* could have followed the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* immediately or with a lapse of a century. But for my supposition that the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* was actually in the late Han translation by Lokakṣema of the *Mahāsamnipāta*, this sūtra would have to be placed around 150A.D., with the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* around 100 A.D. Along the lines of such dating, we notice that in its Prajñā-pāramitā akṣaya (no. 10), the *Akṣayamati* in a list of statements about *prajñā* says: "Insight is attached to all places of the *Yogācārabhūmi*."[22] There were various works of this title preceding Asaṅga's voluminous one; and Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi* was translated into Chinese partially at the end of the second century.[23] These works, like the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* itself, had their base in the old Buddhist categories, with an added Mahāyāna element.

While a thorough-going comparison would of course require a drawn-out research in its own right, a few common features can be mentioned for purposes of the present discussion. The first such is a striking list within the 'perfection of striving' (*vīrya-pāramitā*) section of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra*.[24] This older sūtra distinguished 'striving' of body, speech, and mind, with that of mind the best. It defined 'striving of mind' as any inception (*'jug pa*) and abiding (*gnas pa*) of mind. It illustrated this by thirty-two pairs, by question and answer. For example, to the question "What is the inception," an answer is "compassion toward all sentient beings"; and to the question "What is the abiding," the answer in the same pair is "forbearance (*kṣānti*) that there is no self (*ātman*)." This amounts to: when A is the inception, then B is the abiding. The point is that the entire section of thirty-two pairs, always with the same two questions, was taken over bodily into the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa-sūtra* within its akṣaya 8 (perfection of striving).[25]

---

[21] One may get an idea of this sūtra's style from the Columbia University doctoral dissertation by K. Priscilla Pedersen on the Dhyāna chapter of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sutra*, deposited in the 1975-76 academic year.

[22] PTT, Vol. 34, p. 56-2-6: /śes rab ni rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa la gnas pa thams cad kyi sbyor ba'o/.

[23] Paul Demiéville, "La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa," *BEFEO*, 44 (1954), pp. 395-396.

[24] *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra*, PTT, Vol. 23, p. 55-3-4 to 55-5-3.

Some common elements in the *prajñāpāramitā* sections of both sūtras are especially significant. Near the beginning of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa's* section, it presents the eighty-four *ākāra* (kinds) of bodhisattva hearing. This entire list is quoted by Śāntideva in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, so the original Sanskrit is extant for this passage.[26] However, it is clear that the long list of bodhisattva hearing at the beginning of the same section of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*[27] is the prototype for the later list, although there are some different entries here and there.

When it comes to the objects of *prajñāpāramitā*, the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* gives skill in ten objects.[28] The *Akṣayamati* in its section on the objects[29] has skill in eight objects, agreeing with the older sūtra on five of them, *skandhas, dhātus, āyatanas*, truth (*satya*), and dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), while presenting three not in the other sūtra, namely, skill in the three times, all the vehicles, all the dharmas. The older sūtra therefore had five others, namely skill in special knowledges (*pratisaṃvid*), skill in basis (*āśraya*), skill in *vijñāna* and *jñāna*, skill in the enlightenment-ancillaries, skill in the path. The *Akṣayamati* devotes separate sections to the four special knowledges (akṣaya 24-27), to final resort in *jñāna* rather than *vijñāna* (akṣaya 29), to the enlightenment-ancillaries (akṣaya 56-62), and the eight-membered path (akṣaya 63-70); and so does not treat these in its section of objects of *prajñāpāramitā* (akṣaya 10).

Probably the most important affiliation of the two sūtras is in the matter of truth (*satya*). For the comparison, the earlier sūtra will be called *Piṭaka*,[30]

---

[25] PTT, Vol. 34, p. 48-1-5, ff.

[26] *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Vaidya ed., 105.21, ff.

[27] PTT, Vol. 23, p. 73-2-3, ff.

[28] PTT, Vol. 23, p. 77-2-1, ff.

[29] PTT, Vol. 34, p. 52-2-7, ff.

[30] *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra*, PTT, Vol. 23, p. 78-1-1, ff.

Funding by IKS-MoE

the later one *Nirdeśa*.[31] A. On how bodhisattvas know the four truths:— *Piṭaka* and *Nirdeśa* agree that to know suffering is to know that the skandhas do not arise; to know source is to know that craving (*tṛṣṇā*) is overcome. Then disagreeing, *Piṭaka*: to know cessation is to know the non-arising and non-passing away. But *Nirdeśa*: to know cessation is the non-arising of nescience (*avidyā*) and traces (*anuśaya*). *Piṭaka*: to know path is to attribute to dharmas attainment of equality. But *Nirdeśa*: to know path is the non-attribution of avenue, since all dharmas are equal. B. On the three truths of the bodhisattva (*saṃvṛti-paramārtha*, *lakṣaṇa-*):—*Piṭaka*: Conventional truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*) is as much as there is of mundane convention; and is expression with letters, speech, and discursive thought. *Nirdeśa* replaces "discursive thought" (*vikalpa*) by signs (*saṃketa*). *Piṭaka* and *Nirdeśa* agree: When consciousness does not course, how much less the letters—that is absolute truth (*paramārtha-satya*). And agree: Truth of characteristics (*lakṣaṇa-satya*) is as follows: all characteristics are one characteristic, and one characteristic is no characteristic. C. On the bodhisattva's skill in truth:—*Piṭaka* and *Nirdeśa* agree: Among those, the bodhisattva does not weary of expressing conventional truth. And agree: He does not fall into direct realization of absolute truth, but matures sentient beings. *Piṭaka*: He reflects on the truth of characteristic as no characteristic. But *Nirdeśa*: He comprehends as a single truth by way of the truth of characteristic. *Piṭaka*: There is a truth that is one, not two, as follows: the truth of cessation. But *Nirdeśa*: Truth is one, not two. *Piṭaka* has the following which *Nirdeśa* lacks: Furthermore, the personality aggregates (*skandha*) are suffering. Any characteristic of suffering that the aggregates have is (truth of) suffering. Comprehending the characteristic of suffering to be the characteristic of voidness is called 'truth of suffering of the nobles' (and so on with the other noble truths). *Nirdeśa* has the following which *Piṭaka* lacks: Among them, truth of convention (*vyavahāra*) is said to be temporal truth, namely, the truth of suffering, the truth of source, the truth of cessation, the truth of path; and the truth of mundane convention, to wit, as much as is taught with letters, speech, and signs. As to absolute truth, it is the inexpressible *dharmin*, i. e. Nirvāṇa. Why so? Because it is the perpetual thusness of natures (*dharmatathatā*) and because its lineage is perpetual.

The above correlation of the two sūtras in the matter of truth should show how much the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* is indebted to the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* for material, but sometimes replaces phrases. As to this third truth of *lakṣaṇa*, it appears to

---

[31] *Akṣayamatinirdeśa-sūtra*, PTT, Vol. 34, p. 53-4-4, ff.

Funding by IKS-MoE

be a continuation in Mahāyāna Buddhism of an Abhidharma theory using the term *bhāva* to embrace both conventional and absolute truth as an underlying substance,[32] but these sūtras refer to the underlying character rather than substance. The intention of using the term *lakṣaṇa* under the topic of Prajñāpāramitā is deducible from Sthiramati's comment: "The eye of insight (*prajñā-cakṣus*) is the non-discursive knowledge which understands the individual and general character (*svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas, seeing them in the absolute sense (*paramārthatās*)."[33] Now, the common element between the *svalakṣaṇa* and the *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* is the *lakṣaṇa*. This may be involved in both the sūtras' saying, "All characteristics are one characteristic, and one characteristic is no characteristic." That is, 'all characteristics are one characteristic' when seen by the 'eye of insight' (*prajñā-cakṣus*); and 'one characteristic is no characteristic' when it is the object of Prajñāpāramitā.

The three levels of characteristics may supply a solution to Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā* XXV.19: "There is no differentiation (*viśeṣaṇa*) of Saṃsāra from Nirvāṇa; there is no differentiation of Nirvāṇa from Saṃsāra." That is, from the standpoint of conventional truth, there are 'all characteristics' which differentiate Nirvāṇa from Saṃsāra. With the eye of insight there is one characteristic, or sameness, in the absolute sense. But, what Nāgārjuna said amounts to: with the Perfection of Insight (*prajñāpāramitā*), Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa have no characteristic of differentiation. Thus, based on 'all characteristics,' there is 'one characteristic,' and based on it, 'no characteristic.'

II. CITATION OF THE AKṢAYAMATINIRDEŚA

A. *Śāntideva's citations*. The most citations of extant Sanskrit are in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Here he cites akṣaya 2 on *āśaya*; 4, *adhyāśaya*, twice; 5, *dāna*; 8, *vīrya*, twice; 10, *prajnā*, twice (one the bodhisattva kinds of hearing, the other on skill in the three times); 11, *maitrī*; 12, *karuṇā*, twice; 13, *muditā*; 14, *upekṣā*, twice; 32, *puṇya-sambhāra*; 33, *jñāna-sambhāra*; 34, *kāya-smṛtyupasthāna*; 35, *vedanā-smṛtyupasthāna*, twice; 36, *citta-smṛtyupasthāna*; 37, *dharma-smṛtyupasthāna*; 38-41, *samyak-prahāṇa*, two brief references; 46-50, each of the five *indriya*; 71, *śamatha*; 79, the

---

[32] Cf. Genjun H. Sasaki, "The Three Aspects of Truth in Buddhist Epistemology," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, India, XIV, 3-4, March-June, 1965, p. 8.

[33] Cf. Alex Wayman, "The Buddhist Theory of Vision," *Añjali, O. H. de A. Wijesekera Felicitation Volume* (Peradeniya, Ceylon, 1970), p. 29.

Funding by IKS-MoE

solitary path.[34] It is clear that Śāntideva finds this sūtra a splendid source of material. His generous citations, even though omitting various akṣayas, give the impression that he considered the entire sūtra worthy of drawing material from. In contrast, when he cited the *Śrīmālādevīsimhanādasūtra,* he did it only for its early part on embrace of the illustrious Dharma, avoiding the main part of this sūtra on Tathāgatagarbha theory, which he apparently did not accept.[35] By the time of Śāntideva (7th to 8th cent.) the *Mahāsamnipāta* had been somewhat eclipsed by the large collections called *Ratnakūṭa* and *Avatamsaka*, and Śāntideva cites many sūtras, so there is no reason to insist that the *Mahāsamnipāta* is primary for Śāntideva. There is no way to determine, for example, whether he had the collection in some form of the *Mahāvaipulya-mahāsamnipāta*, or was just dealing with individual sūtras.

But that he should like the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* is indicated by the occurrence early in its Prologue of the expression Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, which is the title also of Śāntideva's famous devotional work.[36]

A sūtra of the *Ratnakūṭa* class that Śāntideva appears to have liked is the *Ratnacūḍa*. It is doubtless intriguing that in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* Śāntideva at one place cites in order the *Ratnacūḍa* and the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*; at two other places in order the *Ratnacūḍa*, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*; and in one place in order, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, the *Ratnacūḍa*. It is as though these two works were together on his desk![37]

B. *The Sūtrasamuccaya.* This work attributed to Nāgārjuna cites the *Akṣayamati* twice, as far as I could notice by scanning the text in the Tibetan Tanjur. However, as this text also cites the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* at least three times, it can hardly be by Nāgārjuna, who surely lived before the *Laṅkāvatāra* was composed. The two citations are from the *pāramitā*, i. e. Mahāyāna section:

---

[34] These inclusions under the akṣayas of the sūtra take account of all the identifications in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* edited by Vaidya as based on the Cecil Bendall edition. I also include among the two *adhyāśaya* citations a passage not recognized to be a citation in the Bendall edition, as evidenced by the translation (of Bendall and Rouse), pp. 160-161, and accordingly not recognized in Vaidya's edition namely, 151.5-11.

[35] Cf. Alex and Hideko Wayman, *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā* (New York, 1974), p. 6.

[36] Thus, PTT, Vol. 34, p. 35-4-6: /de nas bcom ldan 'das byaṅ chub sems dpa'i spyod la 'jug pa daṅ ṅes par 'byuṅ ba sgrib pa med pa'i sgo źes bya ba chos kyi rnam graṅs/ "Then the Bhagavat (preached) the *dharma-paryāya* called 'entering the Bodhisattva career' and 'gate to immaculate way of deliverance'."

[37] Cf. the Bendall and Rouse translation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, pp. 115, 219-222, 248-249, 283-285.

1. from *vīrya*, akṣaya 8, same passage cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*:[38] When the root of virtue (*kuśalamūla*) has been offered to enlightenment, there is no exhaustion (of that root of virtue) up to the time he is seated at the terrace of enlightenment. For example, reverend Śāradvatīputra, when a drop of water has fallen into the great ocean, there is no exhaustion (of that drop) up to the end of the eon.

2. from *dhyāna*, akṣaya 9:[39] Here, what is the bodhisattva's 'means' (*upāya*), what his 'insight' (*prajñā*)? When any bodhisattva in equipoise, so as to see the sentient beings would apply his mind in that object with great compassion, this is the bodhisattva's 'means.' When in meditation his mind is pacified and well pacified, that is his 'insight.' When any bodhisattva in equipoise has final resort to the Buddha's knowledge, this is his 'means.' When he performs a meditation not dwelling on any *dharma*, this is his 'insight.' When any bodhisattva in equipoise embraces the illustrious Dharma and looks, this is his 'means.' When he performs a meditation apart from the Dharmadhātu, this is his 'insight.' When any bodhisattva in equipoise realizes directly the ornamentation (commentary: the characteristics and minor marks) of the Buddha's body, this is his 'means.' When he performs a meditation not separate from the Dharmakāya, this is his 'insight.'

C. *Sthiramati's citations*. His Yogācāra commentary has a surprising number of citations from this sūtra, in each case citing it as *Ārya-Akṣayamati-sūtra*, i. e. in his sub-commentary on the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*. He may have more than I found, having consulted only a few chapters of his sub-commentary in its Tibetan version (the original Sanskrit not being extant). Thus, on the Bodhipakṣya chapter,[40] he cites the sūtra on each of the four special knowledges (*pratisaṃvid*), akṣaya 24-27, of meaning, of natures, of languages (cited twice), and of eloquence. He cites akṣayas 29 and 30, final resorts to knowledge and final meaning. He cites akṣaya 32, collection of merit, and 33, collection of knowledge. He cites each of the five faculties, akṣaya 46-50; and each of the five powers, akṣaya 51-55, which have the same names as the five faculties, but

---

[38] *Sūtrasamuccaya*, PTT, Vol. 102, p. 85-1-2, ff.

[39] PTT, Vol. 102, p. 110-2-6, ff.

[40] *Sūtrālaṃkāra-vṛtti-bhāṣya*, PTT, Vol. 109, p. 48-2-2, for the first of these *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* citations in this chapter sub-commentary.

Funding by IKS-MoE

have become powers. He cites each of the seven enlightenment-ancillaries, akṣaya 56-62; and each of the eightfold noble path, akṣaya 63-70. He cites memory, akṣaya 73, twice. In his commentary on the Guṇa chapter,[41] he cites akṣaya 10, *prajñā*, section on skill in the realms (*dhātu*), as follows: "The *dharmadhātu*, the realm of *saṃsāra*, the realm of *nirvāṇa*, are equal; the *dharmadhātu*, the sentient-being realm, the space realm, the realm of all *dharmas*, are equal. Why are they equal? Since they are equal in the sense of voidness, they are equal."

Since the Yogācārin Sthiramati quotes few other sūtras in his subcommentary on the Bodhipakṣya chapter, his numerous citations of the *Akṣayamati* here, combined with the Mādhyamika Śāntideva's citations of this section of the sūtra strongly suggests that the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* had been in those centuries a leading reference for Mahāyāna students of the 37 bodhipakṣya dharmas.

D. *Candrakīrti's citations.* The foregoing is indispensable for understanding these. His commentary, the *Prasannapadā*, on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka-kārikā*, has two placements of sūtra citations: within the body of his commentary, and as supporting scriptural citations placed at the end of a chapter. His main citation of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* within the body of Chapter One is to show the Mādhyamika position (although some persons claim the Mādhyamika has no position) on the two kinds of Buddhist sūtras, the *neyārtha* and the *nītārtha*. In the sūtra, this is akṣaya 30, the final resort to sūtras of final meaning rather than provisional meaning. He refers to the same citation at the end of his commentary on Chapter Fifteen. The only other citation he has of the *Akṣayamati* is on the last verse of Chapter Two, on Coming and Going, namely verse 25. But here his citation contains a curious mis-quote. To show this, it will be necessary to translate the relevant portion of the sūtra. The citation is not from any of the akṣaya, but from the prologue or *nidāna*. Here the sūtra drives home the point by ten paragraphs:[42]

> 1. 'Coming,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is a term for approach. 'Going,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is a term for departure. Where there is neither the term for approach, nor the term for departure, at that place there is neither coming nor going. No-coming, no-going is the 'going' of the nobles.
>
> 2 'Coming', venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the character of action-nature. 'Going,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the cessation character of action-nature.

---

[41] *Sūtrālaṃkāra-vṛtti-bhāṣya*, PTT. Vol. 109, p. 100-2-3, ff.

[42] PTT, Vol. 34, p. 37-1-1, ff.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Where there is neither the character of action-nature, nor the cessation-character of action-nature, at that place there is neither coming nor going. No-coming, no-going is the 'going' of the nobles.

3. 'Coming,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the character of fervent aspiration (*praṇidhāna*). 'Going,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the cessation-character of fervent aspiration. Where there is neither the character of fervent aspiration, nor the cessation-character of fervent aspiration, at that place there is neither coming nor going. No-coming, no-going is the 'going' of the nobles.

4. 'Coming,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the character of arising (*utpāda*). 'Going,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the character of cessation (*nirodha*). Where there is neither the character of arising, nor the character of cessation, at that place there is neither coming nor going. No-coming, no-going is the 'going' of the nobles.

5. 'Coming,' venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the character of the gateway to worldly information (*vijñapti*). 'Going', venerable Śāradvatīputra, is the cessation character, namely the gateway to liberation (*vimokṣa*). Where there is neither the character of the gateway to worldly information nor the cessation-character, namely the gateway to liberation, at that place there is neither coming nor going. No-coming, no-going is the 'going' of the nobles.

The pattern of the first paragraphs is continued into the second five, with the first member of a pair identified with 'coming,' the second member with 'going.' The remaining pairs are: 6. the domain (*viṣaya*) of coming, and the domain of going. 7. character of condition (*pratyaya*), and cessation-character of condition. 8. character of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), and cessation-character of dependent origination. 9. character of arising from a cause (*hetu*), and cessation-character of arising from a cause. 10. a convention, to wit, letters, speech, a sign; and the experience (*parijñāna*) of a convention, to wit, letters, speech, a sign. Notice that in each case of the ten paragraphs the formula has, "where there is neither...nor, at that place there is neither coming nor going." But when Candrakīrti cites the sūtra for the last verse of Chapter Two, he does it thus:[43] āgatir iti bhadanta Śāradvatīputra saṃkarṣaṇapadam etat /gatir iti bhadanta Śāradvatīputra niṣkarṣaṇapadam etat/ yatra na saṃkarṣaṇapadam na niṣkarṣaṇapadaṃ tad āryāṇāṃ padam apadayogena/

---

[43] Louis de La Vallée Poussin, ed. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* de Nāgārjuna avec la *Prasannapadā* commentaire de Candrakīrti, 108.1-3.

Funding by IKS-MoE

/anāgatir agatiś cāryāṇāṃ gatir iti/ Notice that in the formula where a certain statement was repeated without variance, which should have been in Sanskrit, tatra anāgatir agatiś ca ("at that place there is neither coming nor going"), Candrakīrti puts: tad āryāṇāṃ padam apadayogena ("that is a term of the nobles by means of no term"). If Candrakīrti had consulted the sūtra itself, he would have noticed the invariant phrases repeated ten times, so we must conclude he took the citation from some other source where it was in a corrupt form. But in such a case, his citation of the *neyārtha* and *nītārtha* passage was not from the sūtra itself but from some previous *śāstra* which cited it.

Then, what do these ten statements of no-coming, no-going, have to do with the well-known second chapter of Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka-kārikā*? Certainly Candrakīrti's citation indicates the attitude in his tradition that the passage is a scriptural confirmation of or consistency with Nāgārjuna's presentation. Even so, something could be said about the phraseology in these sūtra statements and Nāgārjuna's second chapter. Recall that the sūtra used the phrase "where (*yatra*) there is neither......nor......; at that place (*tatra*) there is neither coming nor going." In that second chapter, the 'where' and the 'at that place' is the presumed 'treading point' (*gamyamāna*) of someone's presumed going. The realist objector said (verse 2): "Where there is movement, there is the going. And that movement is at someone's treading point, but is neither at the (already) traversed, nor at the not (yet) traversed. Therefore, going is at the treading point". Nāgārjuna rejects this realist appraisal, repeats and further explains his rejection of the treading point itself, in agreement with the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* that there is neither coming nor going in that place, so it is not really a 'treading point.' Also, the sūtra's addition "No-coming, no-going is the 'going' of the nobles" where the nobles are usually explained as the disciples of the Buddhas and the Buddhas—is confirmed by Buddhapālita's introductory comment to the second chapter.[44] He said, as I translate: "You have taught (i. e. in the first chapter) in successive manner this principle of non-arising. We are thrilled to hear (the principle of) voidness. Pray explain how the going (*gata*) and coming (*āgata*) according to mundane perception is not valid. He proclaimed:" (there follows verse 1 of Chapter Two). Thus Buddhapālita explains that Nāgārjuna in this second chapter refutes the mundane perception, namely, the realist appraisal of going; and implies there is still a 'going' or 'understanding' of the nobles, who have better than mundane perception, since the verb *gam*- is employed in this literature in both senses 'to go' and 'to understand'. Thus,

---

[44] *Sde dge Tibetan Tripiṭaka Bstan Ḥgyur*, Dbu Ma I (Tokyo, 1977), p. 84, Tsa, f. 168b-2, 3.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Nāgārjuna leaves room also for the Tathāgata, who goes (*gata*) and comes (*āgata*) the same way, granted that this kind of going and coming is not subject to mundane perception.

E. *The Prajñāpāramitāśāstra attributed to Nāgārjuna.* Book III as translated by Lamotte, three times cites the same passage from Maitrī (akṣaya 11 of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*), twice identifying the sūtra as *Akṣayamatibodhisattva-paripṛcchā*, and once as *Akṣayamatisūtra*.[45] The particular passage is the three kinds of maitrī: "Maitrī is of three kinds: that which has beings as its object (*sattvālambana*), that which has *dharmas* as its object (*dharmālambana*), and that which has no object (*anālambana*)." Śāntideva cited instead the sūtra's brief explanations for the three, to wit, "The *maitrī* which has beings as object belongs to bodhisattvas who have initially generated the mind (of enlightenment); the one which has *dharmas* as object belongs to the bodhisattvas who are engaging in the career (*caryā*); the one which has no object belongs to the bodhisattvas who have obtained the forbearance of the non-arisen dharmas (*anutpattikadharma-kṣānti*)."[46] Soon after the first citation of the mere three kinds, the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* has a little section devoted to the three kinds,[47] but in the course of its exposition says nothing that actually represents how the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* explains the three, as cited by Śāntideva and translated above. Nor does the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* in the later two places where it cites the same mere three kinds say anything that represents the position of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*. We reach the same conclusion as previously in the case of Candrakīrti's citations: the author of the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* did not have access to the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* itself, but cited the three kinds from some other source, or as it was reported to him. This author did not even know the correct Sanskrit title of the sūtra, i. e. the *nirdeśa* part. As to the second kind of *maitrī* according to the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, the commentary preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur seems to agree with the sūtra elsewhere when it defines the *dharmas* which are the object of *maitrī* as the (37) *bodhipakṣyadharmas* (akṣayas 34-70),[48] which would be the 'career' (*caryā*) in the sense of this *sūtra* rather than as more generally understood, the 'stages' (*bhūmi*) of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*.

F. *Citations by Āryaśūra, Kamalaśīla, and Atīśa.* It appears that an author

---

[45] Étienne Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse,* Tome III (Louvain, 1970), pp. 1245, 1272, 1716.

[46] *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Vaidya ed., 117.11-13.

[47] Lamotte, *Le Traité*, Tome III, pp. 1250-1254.

[48] *Ārya-Akṣayamatinirdeśa-ṭīkā*, PTT, Vol. 104, p. 225-4-1.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Āryaśūra made direct considerable use of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* in his *Pāramitāsamāsa*.[49] Atīśa, in his *Bodhipathapradīpa-pañjikā* (the self-commentary) cites about three-fourths of Akṣaya 1 (Generating the Mind of Enlightenment), and the opening of Akṣaya 2 (Resolve), referring the reader to the sūtra for the remainder of the long passage.[50] Kamalaśīla in his *First Bhāvanākrama* refers the reader to the *dhyāna* akṣaya (No. 9) for uniting means (*upāya*) and insight (*prajñā*) (see above the citation in *Sūtrasamuccaya*).[51] However, when Kamalaśīla in the same *Bhāvanākrama* cites a passage on *mahākaruṇā*, akṣaya 12, almost in common with *Śikṣāsamuccaya*;[52] and when Atīśa in the same *Bodhipathapradīpa* commentary cites a phrase almost in common with *Śikṣāsamuccaya* that confession of sin increases merit (from akṣaya 32),[53] it seems in the case of Atīśa that the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is the source, while in the case of Kamalaśīla that it is the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* itself. Śāntideva's commentator Prajñākaramati quotes this sūtra just from the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

G. *The Ārya-Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā*. This is a small work in the *Ratnakūṭa* collection.[54] It starts out with a discussion of the Bodhisattva vow and then devotes the remainder to the ten stages, referred to by various groups of ten and their correspondences. It is a rather well written sūtra, which apparently adopted the name Akṣayamati from the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, in those days a prestigious sūtra, and possibly was motivated as a new composition to present the teaching of ten stages that is missing in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*. So far, all citations in the form *Akṣayamati* have turned out to be in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*. Thus, the *Paripṛcchā* work was not successful in this sense of proving useful to the later *śāstra* authors.

III. LATER INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE SŪTRA

A. *General Mahāyāna*. The portion of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* that especially

---

[49] This is shown in a doctoral dissertation completed at Columbia University in the 1975-76 academic year by Carol Meadows. It consists of a translation and study of the *Pāramitāsamāsa*.

[50] PTT, Vol. 103, p. 26-3-4 to 26-5-6.

[51] Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part II (Roma, 1958), p. 221.

[52] Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part II, p. 187.

[53] *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Vaidya ed., 153.11. More precisely, that the confession of one's own and others' sins is mentioned in (the akṣaya) Collection of Merit. Atīśa's reference is in PTT, Vol. 103, p. 23-5-7.

[54] I have consulted this work in the Tibetan Kanjur edition. There is no Sanskrit extant.

Funding by IKS-MoE

falls in the scope of Mahāyāna Buddhism covers akṣayas 1 through 10. The remainder, akṣayas 11 through 80, is mostly in the scope of pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism, although including Mahāyāna reevaluations. The particular tradition exposed in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* ignores the theories of *gotra*, of five named stages each for śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas as in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* exegesis of the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures;[55] as well as the ten named stages of the bodhisattva in such a scripture as the *Daśabhūmika*.[56] This *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* kind of Mahāyāna, generating the mind of enlightenment and then practicing the six perfections *(pāramitā)* of giving (*dāna*), etc., to eventually become an irreversible *(avaivartika)* bodhisattva, is easily acceptable as the earliest kind of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[57] These basic features serve for combination with developed theories of later times. The subsequent movement that most accords with this Mahāyāna nucleus is evidenced by such works as Āryaśūra's *Pāramitāsamāsa*, Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, and Atīśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* as a source for the Tibetan 'path' treatises. These subsequent Indian texts, although composed in a time when the 10-stage bodhisattva theory was rampant, employ this fully developed Mahāyāna sparingly, as when both Śāntideva and Atīśa refer to the first bodhisattva stage, the *pramuditā*,[58] and cite some lines from the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* for the expressed thought of the lines and not for the intricate structure of the ten stages (*bhūmi*).

B. *Abhayākaragupta's difficulty*. Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, in the place where he lists the eighty akṣayas of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*,[59] suggests that in the late period of Indian Buddhism it had become difficult to decide why this sūtra used its order in the first four akṣayas. To repeat them: No. 1,

---

[55] Cf. E. Obermiller, "The Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya," reprint from *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XI, 1932.

[56] Even so, the sūtra did refer to undefined stages in its akṣaya 4 (on 'aspiration'), which provided an opening for the *Ārya-Akṣayamatinirdeśa-ṭīkā* on that akṣaya to attempt to inject the full-blown theory of ten stages.

[57] What is probably the earliest Mahāyāna scripture, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, popularized the theory of the "irreversible bodhisattva" in its chapter 17, without the notion of bodhisattva stages; and this is undoubtedly the early position; cf. Edward Conze, tr. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1958), pp. 121-129.

[58] In the case of Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, cf. the translation by Bendall and Rouse, p. 11. For Atīśa, it is *Bodhipathapradīpa*, verse 59; this work has been translated several times and now in Alex Wayman, *Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real* (New York, 1978), where p. 13 for the verse.

[59] *Munimatālaṃkāra*, PTT, Vol. 101, p. 237-3-2, ff.

Funding by IKS-MoE

generating the mind (of enlightenment); No. 2, resolve (*āśaya*), No. 3, praxis *(prayoga)*, No. 4, aspiration (*adhyāśaya*). So Abhyākaragupta made this curious remark (as I translate from the Tibetan Tanjur text): "Here, when one explains by reversing the purifying sequence of (No. 3) praxis *(prayoga)* and (No. 4) aspiration *(adhyāśaya)*, one clarifies that the two arise in the two. For that very reason, Āryāsaṅga stated the *prayoga* by what follows aspiration (Tib. *smon pa*= *praṇidhāna*)."[60] Notice that Abhyākaragupta equates the terms *adhyāśaya* and *praṇidhāna*, both meaning 'aspiration' or 'resolution'. He claims that in fact praxis and aspiration promote each other; therefore one could present them in the order No. 3 and No. 4 as in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* or reverse the order: it makes no difference. But as he evidently refers to Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, let us briefly compare with what is there. We notice that in Asaṅga's treatment of *praṇidhāna* (contained in the *Bodhipakṣyapaṭala*),[61] the bodhisattva is said to take resolutions: 1) to generate the *bodhi* mind; 2) to take rebirth in proper circumstances; 3) to fulfil the excellent dharmas (his *gocara*); 4) for doing meritorious deeds (the samyak-p.), 5) great ones, to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven, etc. Subsequently, Asaṅga devotes a paṭala to *adhyāśaya*, including under it three kinds: tenderness (*vātsalya*), mental disposition (*āśaya*); and appropriate deeds *(kṛtyāni)* that make the *āśaya* effective.[62] Despite Abhayākaragupta's attempt, it is apparent that the system and sequence set forth in the *Akṣayamati* and that used by Asaṅga in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are terminologically at variance. Asaṅga's system takes the term *adhyāśaya* as including *āśaya*, but the sūtra takes *āśaya* as akṣaya 2 and *adhyāśaya* as akṣaya 4. And even if Abhayākaragupta were right in equating *adhyāśaya* and *praṇidhāna*, we notice that according to Asaṅga one of the resolutions *(praṇidhāna)* is to generate the mind; but the sūtra has this as akṣaya 1.

C. *The Tanjur commentary ascribed to Vasubandhu.* The Tibetan canon has a commentary on the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* that is ascribed to Vasubandhu.[63] An initial doubt is that the Chinese did not translate this commentary, although at one time enthusiastically translating all works known to be by Vasubandhu. However, both the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist canons have a Vasubandhu commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*. I made some spot comparisons of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* commentary with the Vasubandhu one on the *Daśabhūmika* in

---

[60] *Munimatālaṃkāra*, PTT, Vol. 101, p. 237-3-6.

[61] *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. by Nalinaksha Dutt (Patna, 1966), p. 186, ff.

[62] *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p 214-216.

[63] Referred to above, notes 48 and 56.

Funding by IKS-MoE

the Derge Tanjur in a recent North India reproduction of the Tibetan text; and for the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* commentary used a duplication of the Peking Tanjur text. For the *Daśabhūmika* commentarial spot, I skip to what in the Tanjur commentary text is called "Bam po gñis pa" or section two, where in the First Bhūmi of the sūtra the Bodhisattva Vimukticandra speaks to the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha (my translation affected by the masterful commentary, well worthy of the illustrious name Vasubandhu):[64] "O, son of the Conqueror, this assembly is well purified - the bodhisattvas have purified their aspiration (*adhyāśaya*), *[to wit,]* have purified their reflections (*saṃkalpa*), have practiced their needful needs, have served many myriads of Buddhas, have amassed the collections, are possessed of immeasurable merit, are free from hesitation and doubt, are without blemish. They are well-settled in aspiration (*adhyāśaya*) and conviction (*adhimukti*), [and so] have resorted to no other doctrines than these doctrines of the Buddha." Vasubandhu says of the purified *adhyāśaya,* there are two kinds, purity of scripture (*āgama*) and purity of higher comprehension (*adhigama*). The purity of scripture is shown by the sūtra text "have purified their reflections," down through "are possessed of immeasurable merit." The purity of comprehension is shown by the sūtra text "are free from hesitation and doubt, are without blemish." And when they are well-settled in aspiration and conviction, the aspiration (*adhyāśaya*) means faith and longing; conviction (*adhimukti*) means holding their objects as meritorious. *And so,* these bodhisattvas reject doctrines inconsistent with the doctrines of the Buddha.[65] Turning to the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* commentary on akṣaya 4, *adhyāśaya,* there is no indication that this commentator knows anything of what Vasubandhu said about *adhyāśaya* in the *Daśabhūmika* commentary.

That this unknown commentator when commenting on a term *vijñapti* in the prologue would launch into numerous varieties and sub-varieties; and then when coming to the sūtra's long list of *samādhi*-s would refuse to comment on any of them,[66] are some of the ubiquitous indications that he does not comment

---

[64] Cf. J. Rahder, *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Paris, 1926), p. 7, para. L.

[65] Vasubandhu's *Ārya-daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna*, PTT, Vol. 104, p. 61-3-5, beginning with "Bam po gñis pa," and continuing to p. 62-1. I have necessarily selected only a few remarks from the commentary.

[66] His commentary on *vijñapti* (see with n. 42, above, para. 5) starts PTT. Vol. 104, p. 148-2-2; and he would have commented on the samādhi list of the Dhyāna akṣaya at p. 181-1 if he had, but there merely repeated the sūtra's statement that there are an uncountable number of samādhis.

Funding by IKS-MoE

on the text as it is. In short, this commentator is not up to the level of Vasubandhu in his known commentaries, because such a superior commentator as he, takes it as a duty to explain the text as given and not to use it as a forum to go off on tangents.

For the various foregoing reasons, we must reject the attributed authorship of Vasubandhu to this commentary. But since there is no Chinese commentary on the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, this Tanjur commentary has a positive value by verifying text readings and furnishing extra data on many points, and even by showing the considerable difficulty a late commentator would experience in trying to explain such a comprehensive early Mahāyāna scripture as the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa.*

CONCLUSION

The writer hopes that the foregoing findings and considerations suffice for placing the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa-sūtra* in that fertile period of early Mahāyāna Buddhism when Nāgārjuna had just established the Mādhyamika school. At that time the new kind of Buddhism was taking various directions. Some followers were conservatively oriented to preserve as much as possible of the old Buddhism and to add just so much of the new-fangled teachings as seemed consistent with the older doctrines. This would account for the sūtra *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* and its successor, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa.* Here the part accepted of the new Buddhism was principally the Bodhisattva vow and the six perfections. The *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* would become associated with kindred works to form a collection called the *Mahāsaṁnipāta*. At the time of its composition, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* may well have given a wide impression of having succeeded in compressing an enormous doctrinal lore under 80 akṣayas while preserving the sūtra style. This would account for this sūtra's authority to both the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools. The *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* was in time eclipsed by the wealth of Mahāyāna scriptures and śāstras. Its presentation of "three truths" was replaced by the standard two truths (conventional and absolute). The later Mahāyāna works covered over the earlier phase so that the beginnings of Mahāyāna were shrouded in mystery.

In short, the various findings in this paper, starting with a monk circle that was responsible for some famous Mahāyāna scriptures that used the name Śāradvatīputra, and concluding with the difficulties of later commentarial tradition to interpret the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa-sūtra*, all go toward supporting a conclusion that this sūtra was composed in time and with relevant importance to be included in the lost late Han translation into Chinese of the *Mahāsaṁnipāta.*

Funding by IKS-MoE

CHIKYO YAMAMOTO, KOYASAN (JAPAN)

GANDHARA IN THE RECORDS OF CHINESE PILGRIMS

AFTER THE KUṢĀṆAS

The Kuṣāṇas who reigned in North India gradually declined after Vāsudeva (202-230 according to J. Marshall, 218-241 according to Ghirshman).[1] The great Kuṣāṇa lost his glorious power as the result of an attack of Shàhpur I of Iran toward the middle of the third century. Shahpur II of Iran invaded Gandhāra and Panjab about the middle of the fourth century (350-358). According to the Wei-shih 'History of Wei' chap. 102[2], Kidāra, king of the Kuṣāṇa who had been under the pressure of the Juan-juan at Bactria crossed the Hindukush to attack North India about the end of the fourth century (circa 390). The five countries north of Gandhāra were subjugated by him. Kidāra possessed N.W. India from circa 390 to 450. The late Gandhāra school of Buddhist art flourished in that period. In my opinion the domain of late Gandhāra school (the Indo-Afghan school of Marshall) covers the tract from Taxila in the south-east to Kapiśa in the north-west. We have no materials enabling us to know the history of this tract in minute details. But the records left by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims permit us to have a glimpse of the political as well as religious situation of the region in those remote days.

FA-HIAN

Fa-hian (Hokken in Japanese pronunciation) started from China in 399 by land route for India and returned home in 413 by maritime route.[3] It was in the first year of Yuan hsing (402). He firstly entered Wu-chang (U-jō=Udyāna) in the domain of the Gandhāra School. Ujō of Fa-hian seems to mean upper Swat, for he gives Hsiu-ho-to (Shukkata) for lower Swat in the next paragraph. Buddhism was highly flourishing in Ujō. There were as many as 500 monasteries with monks studying Hīnayāna. Among sacred sites of Buddha that were

---

[1] J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 1951, p. 73. Ghirshman, *Begram: Recherches archèologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, Le Caire 1946.

[2] Kidāra is regarded to be a Kuṣāṇa king in chap. 102 of the Wei-shih. Chinese annals regard the Kuṣāṇa dynasty as Great Yue-tse. If the Kuṣāṇa are not great Yue-tse, Kidāra also might not be Kuṣāṇa.

[3] The Life of Fa-hian, Taisho Tripiṭaka, 51.857-866. Cf. Dr. G. Ono, Buddhist Art in Gandhāra (in Japanese).

Funding by IKS-MoE

found there, he mentions a rock with Buddha's foot-print, a place where Buddha dried his robe, another where he converted a malicious nāga. The first two places were identified by A. Stein.[4] Buddhism was prevalent in Shukkata, too. He gives the site of Śibi-jātaka.

He went to Kendawei (Puṣkalāvatī) from Swat. It was the capital of Gandhāra situated on the confluence of the rivers Swat and Kabul. It has been identified with the present village Charsada. It had been known to Chinese since the Han period by the name of Shusen. In the vicinity of the town there was a stūpa built in commemoration of the gift of Bodhisattva's eyes in former days.[5] He went eastward from there to Taxila in seven days. He mentions only the stūpa of gift of the head by the Buddha in a former life. This monument has been identified with the Bhallar stūpa commanding the promontory at the western extremity of Taxila plain.[6] By travelling farther eastward from Taxila for two days he could reach the famous place where the Bodhisattva gave himself to a hungry tigress. The position of the site was identified with Mount Mahaban on the right side of the river Sindhu (Indus) by taking Yuan-tsang's note into consideration. The four stūpas mentioned above (Śibi, gift of the eyes, the head and the body) were called the 'four great stūpas' in North India, making the counterparts of the four great sacred sites of Buddha in Madhyadeśa. Pilgrims thronged there.

It took him four days to go from Kendawei to Furōsha, Puruṣapura, one day's distance from Puṣkalāvatī. He must have stayed on the way. It is present Peshawar, that became the capital of Gandhāra after the days of Fa-hian. There stood the famous stūpa of Kaniṣka. He says: "It is more than 40 chang (jō) high. This is the highest stūpa in Jambudvīpa." The excavations in modern times proved that it was by far the biggest among many stūpas in India. There was also a site where Buddha's begging bowl was enshrined.

Going westward for 16 yojanas from Puruṣapura he reached Naga, i.e. Nagarahāra that is present Jalalabad. It is well known that Buddhism flourished very much in this plain. Fa-hian gives many sites. Firstly there was a monastery enshrining Buddha's famous cranium at Hira (now Haḍḍa). The town of Nagarahāra was one yojana to the north of Hira. There were among others: a place where the past Buddha Dīpaṅkara predicted on the future advent

---

[4] A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, 1929.

[5] This stūpa was identified by Foucher with Balā Hissar to the north of Charsadda. But later excavations proved it to be a non-Buddhist site.

[6] J. Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, pp.140-142, pl. XXIV.

Funding by IKS-MoE

of Bodhisattva, and a stūpa enshrining Buddha's teeth. Buddha's travelling staff was at the mouth of a vale, one yojana to the northeast of the town, and Buddha's saṅghāṭī robe was in the west of the mouth of the vale. The famous image of Buddha still existed in his days. He says: "Half a yojana to the south of the town of Naga there is a rock cave in a hill. Facing south-west the Buddha left his figure there. Looking at it from the distance of more than ten steps in the cave, it looks like a real image of Buddha. His golden figure shines brilliantly. The nearer one approaches the figure, the more delicate it looks. Kings of many countries sent painters to copy it, but they could not draw it so wonderfully."

INVASION OF THE HEPHTHALS

We have no record for the period of 120 years since Fa-hian to Song-yun. In the meantime Yen-ta i.e. Hephthals invaded the district.[7] They are supposed to have invaded Gandhāra about 460 to 470. They attacked Kidāra in Gandhāra destroying and sacking Buddhist monasteries and massacring Buddhist monks. To this day we can see high defensive walls in the ruined monasteries in and around Gandhāra. It is true that Buddhism in this district declined so quickly by the inroad of the hordes of these barbarians. The date of Toramāna, kind of Hephthals is uncertain but he was enthroned about 495 with his capital at Sāgala (now Sialkot). Mihirakula, his successor, came to the throne in about 501. Persecution of the Buddhists was at its height then. He is said to have killed 30 million. He is therefore surnamed Trikoṭihan. Buddhism in Gandhāra suffered a deadly loss. It never recovered to its former efflorescence. It did not, however, perish in those days, as we know from the records of subsequent periods.

SONG-YUN

The portion of the *Lo-yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* 'Accounts of the monasteries of Loyang' that quotes the passages of Song-yun, Hui-shêng and Tao-jung is in disorder.[8] Song-yun accompanied by Hui-shêng entered Udyāna in December

---

[7] Wei-shih, chap. 102 says that the Yen-ta conquered about 30 small countries including Western region, Samarkand, Khotan, Kashgar and Parthia. It says that they also attacked Gandhāra. But its source seems to have been Song-yun.

[8] Lo-yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi, chapter 5 (Taisho Tripiṭaka, 51.1018-1022). The account of Dantalaka (A) is followed by the dialogue of Song-yun with the king of the Yen-ta (B). Next comes the town of Fo-sho-fu (C). But as a matter of fact A and C are the same place. So the order of his account should be B C A. Number of days for the journey and the distance are also queer. We have excellent translation and note by Chavannes for the record of

519. It can be surmised by the stūpas, monasteries and the number of monks that Buddhism was prevalent in Udyāna. He noticed among many Buddhist sites a place where Buddha dried his robe, a pond of Nāga king, footprints of Buddha and a place where Buddha planted a chewed tooth-pick. There was a big and high stūpa with 60 golden figures in a monastery named T'o-lo to the north of the capital. He mentions: "The place where Buddha gave himself to a hungry tigress is situated at about eight days' distance to the south-east of the capital. There is a monastery on a mountain enshrining his bones, accommodating more than 300 monks." Again he says: "More than 100 li to the south of the capital there is a place where the Bodhisattva used his skin for paper and his bone for a writing brush." These legends refer to the jātaka of Buddha. He entered Gandhāra in the middle of April 522. As he mentions that two generations had elapsed since the country was conquered by the Hephthals, the latter event is surmised to have happened in about 460-470. According to him, the ruler did not believe in Buddhism but worshipped demons, and countrymen were Hindus worshipping Buddhism and reading Buddhist scriptures. The king was at war with Ki-pin (Kei-hin = Kaśmīra)[9] for three years. He had 700 fighting elephants. When Song-yun handed the edict of Empress Ling of the North Wei dynasty, the king received it seated and he did not express respect to the Empress. Song-yun was angry against his attitude. Among the Buddhist sites of Gandhāra mentioned by Song-yun, 'the palace of the white elephant' and Dantalaka near Fo-sha-fu had connection specially with the Viśvantara jātaka. Driven by nostalgia, Song-yun mentioned the account very minutely.[10]

Going westward for one day he reached the stūpa where the Tathāgata gave his eyes to another in one of his former lives. It was situated near Puṣkalāvatī as I have mentioned above. The capital of Gandhāra was no longer Puṣkalāvatī but Puruṣapura, for he says that the stūpa was 7 li to the S.E. of the town. That means that the capital of Gandhāra shifted from the former town to the latter since the days of Fa-hian to those of Song-yun. A. Foucher identified Ch'iao-li-fu-t'u with the ruins of Shahjī-kī-ḍherī. The Archaeological

---

Song-yun: M.E. Chavannes, Voyage de Song yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra, *BEFEO*. 1902:379-441.

[9] Kipin indicates different regions in different periods. In this case it meant Kashmir. Later on, for example, in the period of Hui-ch'ao, it evidently meant Kapiśa. Cf. Kurakichi Shiratori, On Ki pin kuo: Studies in the History of the Western Region (in Japanese).

[10] Fo-sha-fu of Song-yun is Po-lu-sha of Yuan-tsang. It was identified with Shahbazgarhi to the east of Mardan. Also Dantalaka was demonstrated to be the hill of Mekha-sanda by A. Foucher, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra*, 1902.

Survey of India excavated the site and proved the correctness of the identification.[11] Buddha's relic casket by Kaniṣka was discovered. There are discrepancies in the accounts of pilgrims as to the condition of this stūpa in early days. Quoting the life of Tao-jung, Song-yun says: "The base of the stūpa measures 390 steps. It is 3 chang high. All the stairways and stories are made of ornamented timbers. Wooden shafts are combined on the capitals of pillars. It has 13 stories in all." It seems to have been a high wooden tower, which however, is unintelligible. The height of the stūpa was 700 ch'ih above the ground according to the life of Song-yun and 63 chang 2 ch'ih according to the life of Tao-jung. He says also: "Since it was built it was burnt three times by fire of the sky.... The king of the country repaired and restored it to its original form." But he does not say anything concrete about its construction as he witnessed. Stūpas in India are usually made of mud and stone or bricks. So also in Gandhāra. They can not be burnt. Even if timber was used in some parts, it must be very little. As Song-yun says that the stūpa was burnt three times and each time it was restored, it suggests a high wooden tower reminding us of the Chinese pagoda. Then it is in fact a unique example in India. A fact has been reported that sappers who excavated the site found plenty of charcoal that proves a conflagration. Moreover, if the famous terracotta plaque found at Patna representing the Gandhakuṭī of Bodhgaya is a copy of the great stūpa of Kaniṣka, as was pointed out by Dr. G. Ono of Japan, this can not be rejected, because the form of the Gandhakuṭī is unlike the usual stūpa of India, and it is a many-storied tower like the Buddhist pagoda in China. Among the Buddhist sites of Nagarahāra quoted from the life of Tao-jung, he mentions Buddha's cranium, robe, travelling staff, teeth and hair. He also says that the image of the Buddha in the cave had disappeared sometime before.

YUAN-TSANG

The travel of Yuan-tsang in Gandhāra may be dated about 631.[12] The situation of Buddhism in Gandhāra and adjacent countries at his time was as follows. In Bactria to the north of the Snow mountains (Hindukush) there were more than one hundred monasteries and more than three thousand monks studying Hīnayāna. There were several decades of monasteries and several thousands

---

[11] *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, 1910-11. Spooner and Hargreaves were successively responsible for the excavations.

[12] Hsi-yü-chi, chap. 2,3: Taisho Tripiṭaka 51.879-885. We have English and French versions of Yuan-tsang. Also Kentoku Hori, *Kaisetsu Saiikiki* 'Explanation of Hsi-yü-chi' (in Japanese).

Funding by IKS-MoE

of monks in Bamiyan amid the Hindukush, more than six thousand monks studying Mahāyāna in Kapiśa, side by side with several decades of deva temples and more than thousand heretics i.e. Hindus. But when he descended down to Nagarahāra, he found "most people venerate Buddhism but few worship heretics" and though monasteries were numerous, monks were few, and most of the stūpas were devastated and demolished. Buddhism had evidently declined there. Gandhāra, the adjacent country was still worse: "There are more than thousand monasteries. They are ruined and ravaged. Stūpas are mostly demolished. There are about hundred temples of heretic gods. Heretics dwell in mixed condition." Although there were many monasteries and monks, he found Buddhism almost decayed. How was Udyāna, the mountainous country? There was a little vitality: "People venerate Buddha's law and respect Mahāyāna. Formerly there were one thousand four hundred monasteries along both banks of Suvāstu river. Most of them are now ruined. Formerly there were eighteen thousand monks. The number of monks has decreased now. They study Mahāyāna. ......There are more than ten deva temples. Heretics dwell mixed with Buddhists." Taxila that is in the plain was similar to Gandhāra: "Though monasteries are numerous, they are already very much demolished. Few monks are there. There were more than hundred monasteries in Kashmir that is situated to the east of Gandhāra. But monks were as many as five thousand."

Buddhism thus declined in the plains or basins along the traffic routes such as Gandhāra, Nagarahāra and Takṣaśilā. Gandhāra was the worst. This was most probably due to the result of the destruction by the Hephthals. Buddhism was still vigorous in mountainous tracts such as Udyāna, Kapiśa, Bamiyan and Kashmir. The persecution did not affect the long tradition in these areas.

Ancient sites of Kapiśa mentioned by Yuan-tsang are the wall paintings and the colossal statue of devarāja in the monastery of Chinese princes from Kashgar, the saṅghārāma of Rāhula and the monastery near the nāga pond. Nagarahāra in those days was not independent but subject to Kapiśa. Among old sites there were a stūpa two or three li to the east of the town built by Aśoka in memory of the prediction by Dīpaṅkara Buddha to Gotama Buddha in his former life, a big stūpa in the town, a monastery and a stūpa more than two hundred ch'ih high over 20 li to southwest of the town. Buddha's figure in the great cave along the eastern cliff was no more. But Buddha's cranium, saṅghāṭī and travelling staff in Hadda more than 30 li to the southeast of the

Funding by IKS-MoE

town still existed. They were well known since former days.[13]

Gandhāra was also subject to Kapiśa. The sites visited by Yuan-tsang in Gandhāra were studied by Foucher[14] long ago. The town of Puruṣapura was desolate. He says: "The town is vacant and desolate. Population is very sparse." Foucher identified the shrine of Buddha's bowl indicated by Yuan-tsang to the northeast of the town with the present Panj-Tirath, a Hindu temple. Foucher also identified Kaniṣka's stūpa 8 or 9 li southeast outside the town. Yuan-tsang mentions traditions concerning this stūpa. But as for the actual state in his time, he only mentions that it was built and burnt thrice and that now it was to be built but was not yet accomplished." The monastery belonging to this stūpa was to west of it. At Puṣkalāvatī to the northeast of the capital there was a stūpa to the east of the town, the stūpa of the gift of eyes 4 or 5 li to the north of the town, and another built by gods Brahmā and Indra nearby. The stūpa of the mother of demoniacal children was 50 li to the northwest of the stūpa of Brahmā and Indra. This was the stūpa for Hārīti. Foucher identified it with Sare makhe ḍherī by the popular cult of smallpox. The stūpa situated 50 li to the north of the Hārīti stūpa was the site of Śyāma-jātaka which was identified by Foucher with Periano ḍherī.

The town of Po-lu-sha (Ba-ro-sha) is the site of Shahbazgarhi as I have mentioned. There is the rock edict of Aśoka nearby, which is not mentioned by Yuan-tsang and other Chinese pilgrims. Old sites concerning Viśvantara jātaka abounded there, each scene being commemorated with a stūpa and a monastery. Firstly the stūpa to the north of the town was the place where prince Sudāna bade farewell when he was banished by the people because he had given the white elephant, a national treasure to some brahmins. More than fifty monks inhabited a monastery outside the eastern gate of the town. This was the place where the Brahmin sold the two children of Sudāna. There were some ancient sites on the hill (Dantalaka) to the northeast of the town. There was a place where ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga was seduced by a princess. That was also one of famous jātakas.

In Udyāna there were many Buddhist sites.[15] They include the source of

---

[13] There are many works by French archaeologists on the Buddhist sites in Afghanistan. For general outline see: A. Foucher et B. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, 1942.

[14] A. Foucher, *La géographie ancienne du Gandhāra*, 1902.

[15] Udyāna has not been explored very well. There are many unexcavated sites of stūpas and monasteries. A general description is seen in A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, 1929. In the post-war period Italian archaeologists have excavated at Udegram and

Nāgarāja Apalāla at the fountainhead of the river Swat; Buddha's footprint on a rock of the river-side; the site where Buddha washed and dried his monastic robes; the place where Buddha gave himself up in his former life in order to listen to half the holy verse on Mount Hidda that was situated 400 li to the south of the capital; Mahāvana-saṅghārāma by the side of a big mountain, more than 200 li to the south of the capital; the Masūra-saṅghārāma about 30 or 40 li descending the mountain northwest, which was the site where Buddha wrote a Buddhist scripture with his bone in order to listen to the holy Buddhist law; the stūpa about 60 or 70 li to the west, which was the scene of Śibi jātaka, viz. where Buddha gave his flesh to a falcon; the stūpa to the east of the big river, about 60 or 70 li to the southwest of the town, which was built by king Uttarasena; and elephant-shaped rock near the big river; stūpa Rohitaka on the opposite side of the river, about 50 li to the west of the town, which was the site of Maitrībala jātaka. Of course we can surmise that there were in fact many other sites.

General Cunningham identified the pond of Nāgarāja Elāpatra indicated by Yuan-tsang to be more than 70 li to the northwest of the town with the pond at Hasan Abdal, and the stūpa between two hills situated more than 30 li to the southeast of the pond with the stūpa which is found now on the hill at Baoti pind. The stūpa of gift of the head about 12 or 13 li to the north of the town was identified, as was mentioned before, with the present Bhallar stūpa. It has a magnificent aspect to this day. The Kuṇāla stūpa on the northern side of the southern hill, southeast outside the town was identified by Marshall with the stūpa on the promontory of Hathial, But the stūpa of Mohra-moradu has more probability.

In the south of the Hindukush, Kapiśa was politically predominant in the days of Yuan-tsang. Lampaka, Nagarahāra, Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā belonged to Kapiśa. Yuan-tsang was welcomed by the king of Kapiśa. On his way to India the king came out of the town accompanied by some monks to welcome him, and on his way home he met him at Und (Udabhāṇḍa) on the river Sindhu. Yuan-tsang stayed there for more than 50 days and went as far as Lampaka with the king. We can well imagine the fame of Yuan-tsang and the devotion of the monarch.

THE POWER OF T'ANG CHINA

When the T'ang rose, the Turks were most powerful in the northern

---

Mingora. Italian Arch. Researches in Asia, Catalogue of the exhibition of discovery of the missions in Pakistan and Afghanistan, 1956-59.

Funding by IKS-MoE

region outside China. T'ang was a mighty empire enclosing Central Asia from Inner and Outer Mongolia in the east to Southern Siberia in the west. Tai-tsung of T'ang put an end to the Eastern Turks and attacked the Western Turks. In the 14th year of Chên-kuan (640) the T'ang army attacked and occupied Kao-shan (Kōshō) and then subdued the Uigurs. When Yuan-tsang travelled in Central Asia, the countries in the north of the Hindukush were under the rule of the Western Turks. T'ang defeated Western Turks in the north of the river Ili in 657. All the territory of the Western Turks came in the possession of T'ang in 659. The authority of T'ang extended as far as the west of Pamir. Countries situated between the Vakhsh (Oxus) and the Sindhu (Indus) requested the recognition of T'ang when a king was to be enthroned. Chinese ambassador Wan-yuan-tse was sent to India three times after 643. The third time was in 661. In those days Buddhists travelled from China to India and vice versa frequently. But because Muslims who rose in Arabia invaded Bactria and Kapiśa as early as the middle of the seventh century, the land routes connecting India and China were interrupted by the Tajiks. That was why Wan-yuan-tse had to take the Tibet-Nepal route. Many other Buddhists from China took this difficult route across the Himalayas as long as the relations between China and Tibet were favourable. Some pilgrims took the maritime route.

HUI-CH'AO (E-CHŌ)

Hui-ch'ao[16] of Shilla went to India in the era of K'ai-yuan (713-727). The first parts of the record of his travels is lost. So we do not know which route he took on his way to India. His way back was the old land route crossing the Pamir. According to the portion that is left we know that he entered Kashmir from Madhyadeśa. He says about Kashmir as follows: "The king, chieftains and people greatly revere Triratna (Buddhism)". Gandhāra that was ruled formerly by the king of Kapiśa was ruled by the Turks in his days. "The king and soldiers are Turks. The inhabitants are Hu (Iranians). There are also Brahmins (Hindus)." Thus the ruler and his army were Turks, while most of the people were Iranians mixed with Indians. He tells of the vicissitudes of political power: "This country was formerly ruled by the king of Kipin (Keihin i.e. Kapiśa). Aya, king of the Turks possessing a village and army became a vassal of the king of Kapiśa. Later the army of Turks grew stronger and killed the king of Kapiśa making their king the lord of the country." Kipin (Keihin) in this case was no longer Kashmir but Kapiśa, the

---

[16] Hui-ch'ao, Wang-wu-t'ien-chu-kuo-chuan 'Record of Travels in Five Indies', Taisho Tripiṭaka 51.975a-979b.

Funding by IKS-MoE

plateau including modern Kabul. This king of the Turks was a devout Buddhist. "A Turk as this king is, reveres and respects Triratna. The king himself, queen, princes and governors have each built a monastery making offerings to Triratna." The capital of this country was on the north side of the great river Sindhu. It is probably Und in present times. There was a big monastery to the west of the capital, at about 3 days' distance: "There is a big monastery to the west of this town at 3 days' distance. This is the monastery once inhabited by Bodhisattvas Vasubandhu and Asaṅga. This monastery is called Kaneka. There is a big stūpa, formerly built by king Kaneka." No doubt this refers to the well known stūpa of Kaniṣka. Also there were four big stūpas that were known since older days such as the sites of Śibi-jātaka, the gift of the head, etc.

As for Udyāna he says: "One reaches the country of Udyāna among mountains in about 3 days' distance, due north from this country of Gandhāra. The countrymen call their country Uj-ji-in-na. The king reveres Triratna very much. He donates most of the villages and farmers for the use of monasteries, leaving little for himself. He offers clothes and food for Buddhist monks. He offers them food every day. There are many monasteries and monks There are a little more monks than laymen. They practise only Mahāyāna." Buddhism was very prevalent and it is surprising that monks were more numerous than laymen.

As for Lampaka he says: "Entering the hill tracts for seven days westward from this country of Gandhāra, one reaches the country of Lampaka. There is no king but a chieftain. It is under the administration of Gandhāra. ...... There are monasteries and monks. People believe in the Triratna. They practise Mahāyāna."

Kipin (Kapiśa) was eight days' journey among mountains westward from Lampaka. This country also belonged to Gandhāra. The king was in cool Kapiśa in summer and shifted to warm Gandhāra in winter. This was a traditional custom since Kaniṣka's days. "The people of this country are Iranians while the king and army are Turks." The clothing and natural products mentioned by him are similar to those at present. He informs us as to how Buddhism was prevalent in his days: "people of the country revere and believe in the Triratna very much. There are many monasteries and monks. People are eager to build monasteries. They make offerings to the Triratna. In the country of Jāguḍa to the west of Kipin the Turkish king worshipped the Triratna. There were many monasteries and monks. In Han-in (Bamiyan) that was situated

Funding by IKS-MoE

amid the Hindukush the king was not Turk, but he and his countrymen revered the Triratna very much. There were many monasteries and monks learning both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. Going northward from Bamiyan across the Hindukush he reached Tokhara (Bactria) on the Vakhsh (Oxus), where he found Tajiks i.e. Arabian Muslims. But going eastward for one month from Bactria he reached a mountainous country where he found king and people revering the Triratna. Generally speaking, Turks ruled in the southside of the Hindukush and Buddhism was still prevalent there. But the Tajiks, enemies of Buddhism were already in the northside of the Hindukush. The Arab invasion of the Vakhsh valley was rapid since 705. Many countries requested the rescue of the T'ang, who, however, did not agree. Kao-hsien-chih, general of the T'ang army attacked the Tajiks in the 10th year of T'ien-pao era (751) under the emperor Yuan-tsong, but was utterly defeated. Thenceforth the power of the T'ang declined quickly. T'ang had to give up the domination of Central Asia. The embassy of Kapiśa negotiated with China by taking the old route from Gandhāra to Khotan crossing the Hindukush.

U-KONG (GOKŪ)

An embassy consisting of more than forty men was sent by T'ang in accordance with the request of the embassy of Kapiśa. Among them was Ch'ê Fêng-chao,[17] a young man. They entered India in 753. Fêng-chao was converted to Buddhism in Gandhāra and was named Fa-chieh (Dharmadhātu). He stayed in Gandhāra and Kashmir for a long time. He also made pilgrimage to the sacred sites in middle India (Madhyadeśa). He returned home in the 6th year of Chên-yuan (790) at the age of sixty. He says about Gandhāra: "This is the eastern town of Kipin. The king lives here in winter and dwells in Kipin in summer." But he does not mention any of the Buddhist sites. He only says about Kashmir: "There are a little more than 300 saṅghārāmas. There are very numerous auspicious stūpas and holy statues." He does not mention precisely. He was in northern India upto 764 and then went for pilgrimage to middle India. There were Turkish Buddhists in Kapiśa.

THE LAST PERIOD

Harun-al-Rashid invaded Kapiśa in 792-3 destroying the royal palace and monasteries. So Kapiśa shifted southward to Kabul. It is the old Kabul on the river Logar. It is identified with Shevaki and Kamari in the suburbs of present-day Kabul. Some Buddhist stūpas and other monuments are found there in

---

[17] U-kong, Ju-chu-chi 'Record of Travels in India', Taisho Tripiṭaka 51.979b-981b.

Funding by IKS-MoE

our days. The Turki Shahi was defeated by Yakub Rais and shifted to Ohind in the year 870. Several years later Hindu Shahi took their place. The lineage of Hindu Shahis lasted until Trilocanapāla was defeated by Mahmud, king of Ghazni in 1013. This was the last line of resistance of Indian culture against Islam in this part of India.

We can, however, suppose from the general situation mentioned above, that Buddhism in this part would have continued far longer if Muslims had not come to India.

CHIKYO YAMAMOTO, KOYASAN (JAPAN)

LIFE OF DĀNAPĀLA

The Bus-sō-tō-ki or the 'Record of Lineages of Buddhist Patriarchs' (Nj. 1661, T.2035:49.39) gives a short bio-sketch of Dānapāla and of Tensokusai his fellow traveller from India. It is reproduced below:

In February of the fifth year of Tai-p'ing-hsing-kuo, i.e. A.D. 980, śramaṇa Tensokusai from Kashmir came to China together with Dānapāla from U-ten-nō. The Emperor invited them and gave purple robes. He ordered the two monks to examine Sanskrit texts. At that time the Emperor was eager for translations. A Translation Hall was built to the west of T'ai-ping-hsing-kuo-ssu. It was divided into three rooms. The middle room was for translation. The eastern room was for decorating the sentences and the western room for the re-examination of the text. In June of the seventh year of T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo i.e. in A.D. 982, the Translation Hall was completed. The Emperor ordered śramaṇa Tensokusai and others to dwell there. He conferred the title of Meikyō-daishi on Tensokusai, the titles ... and Tengyo-daishi on Dānapāla. Each person was ordered to translate a sūtra brought by him. In July Tensokusai offered Ārya-Buddha-mātra-sūtra that was newly translated. Hōten (Dharmadeva) offered Śrī-Vasudhārā-sūtra and Dānapāla offered the Tathāgatālaṁkāra-sūtra, each in one fascicle.

Funding by IKS-MoE

KAMALA RATNAM, NEW DELHI

INDONESIA'S WAYANG THEATRE

Though a shadow-play, the wayang is one of the world's most complex and refined dramatic and theatrical forms, having developed through an unbroken succession of artists, generation by generation, for well over a thousand years. Even India the cradle of the wayang stories, does not have such an unbroken and alive dramatic tradition pervading the elitist social structure down to the villages.

It is with a sense of deep kinship and understanding that one wishes to write about anything concerning Indonesian art and culture. Long long ago, several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, Vālmīki the author of the Rāmāyaṇa made a reference to the Indonesian group of islands. Amongst the emissaries of King Sugrīva of Kiṣkindhā, sent out in search of Sītā, there were several who went far and wide in the Eastern direction. They were told to go by land, sea and air and be sure to reach Yava-dvīpa which consists of seven kingdoms, full of gold and silver and the home of gold-mines. Beyond Yava-dvīpa Vālmīki mentions a very high mountain named Śiśira, beyond which crossing the ocean there are other lands and islands, one of which 'rocked by wave and storm' (*ūrmimantam mahāraudraṁ kroṣantam aniloddhatam*) has been identified as modern Japan by Dr. Vartaka, a Rāmāyaṇa scholar from Poona.

Yava-dvīpa, which is identified as modern Java, was known as Suvarṇa-dvīpa or Dvīpāntara in ancient times. Sources other than the Rāmāyaṇa, also confirm that Indians were well-acquainted with their neighbours in South-East Asia and carried on brisk social, religious and trade relations with them. A particularly charming reference in this respect is found in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa (100 B.C.). Devoting no less than five beautifully constructed verses in describing the king of Kaliṅga (modern Orissa) in the episode of Indumatī svayaṁvara, the bridesmaid tells the princess:

anena sārdhaṁ viharāmburāśes tīreṣu tālivana-marmareṣu/
Dvīpāntarānīta-lavaṅga-puṣpair apākṛta-sveda-lavā marudbhiḥ//

Raghuvaṁśa 6.57

"With him (the king of Kaliṅga) you will enjoy the beaches of the great ocean, with their luxurious plantations of tāla trees; where cool breeze fragrant with the scent of cloves brought (in shiploads) from Dvīpāntara will be ever present to wipe away drops of sweat from your body."

lavaṅga or clove brought from Indonesia was highly prized in India; it was known as *devakusuma* 'flower of the gods'. Thus there are undoubted proofs of India's trade and cultural connections with her neighbouring countries in South-East Asia. Although as old as the hills and as deep as the sea, these emotional links have stood the test of time and are as refreshing and vibrant today as they were several thousand years back.

Wayang as theatre. One aspect of this precious link and common heritage which we share with Indonesia is the wayang theatre, a form of art which has reflected the total talent and creative ability and the gentle spirit full of love and serenity and idealism of its people and those visitors who brought this art form to them. Early Indians who went to neighbouring countries, did not go there with the idea of material or political gain. Simple wanderlust, love for travel and adventure, the pleasure of meeting fellow human beings seem to have been the motive force behind their journeys. Several jātaka stories, part of India's folk-literature of the pre-Christian era, describe the thrill and the joys of sea-voyages between India and Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa, territories which are now known as Burma, Thailand, Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam, Malaysia and the Indonesian islands. Culture and art seem to have been the main source of communication and entertainment between the two peoples. Dance, drama, song, painting, sculpture, poetry, legend: these were the first to change hands, to be supplemented later by trade and commerce. Chinese texts of the second century B.C. confirm that a regular overland trade-route existed between India and China via upper Burma and Yunnan. In this manner Hindu influence, filtered through centuries, became part and parcel of the emotional and cultural life of our Eastern neighbours. Later powerful indigenous kingdoms sprang up in each region of this territory imparting splendour, impetus and permanence to Hindu cultural legacy. The royal Hindu builders of temples like the Angkor Vat in Kampuchea, and the Śailendra and Śrīvijaya kingdoms of Indonesia are to be specially remembered in this connection.

Indian origin of wayang. Like other art forms wayang also migrated to Indonesia from India. Wayang in the Indonesian language means 'shadow'. This theatre is very similar both in form, spirit and content to the Chhau dance of certain regions of Bihar and Orissa and the dance-dramas of Assam, known as Ankiya-nat. The Chhau is a most important mask-dance employing stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. It consists of beautiful body movements and elaborate and perfectly worked masks for every player. The Raja

Funding by IKS-MoE

of Saraikilla used to be the Guru or teacher of this dance. The Ankiya-Nat was created for common people under the influence of Classical Sanskrit drama which was for the entertainment of the elite. Replete with the lyricism of high emotion, it combines within itself the four elements of drama, song, rhythm, melody and dialogue (*abhinaya*). Special make-up instructions are followed observing the colour-ritual of the various characters and gods. Thus Kṛiṣṇa is always painted blue-black (*śyāma*). a brāhmaṇa or a sannyāsin white, a violent or brutal character red, devilish figures are shown in a dirty tone of black. Masks also follow the same pattern. *Hideous* for grotesque and demoniac characters, *animal* for legendary birds and beasts like Garuḍa, Jaṭāyu and the serpent Kāliya and *Comic* for buffoons and jesters. The wayang theatre follows the above scheme in every respect to the letter.

Referring to more ancient times the constituent elements of drama, singing, dancing and playing musical instruments are found in the Vedas also. A girl had to be well-trained in dance and music before she could be given away in marriage (cf. Ṛigveda 10.85.40). Men ignorant of music were not popular with girls. With the gradual chanting of the Vedic verses and the performance of Vedic sacrifices (*yajña*), following a strict technique and ritual, the entire fascinating panorama of the drama of life opened before the early Aryans. However the Vedic sacrifices provided spiritual sustenance for a special class of people, while the need for social entertainment and creative expression was universal. Thus the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata (300 B.C.)[1] records that Brahmā created a *Fifth Veda* for all classes of people taking required elements of dialogue, music, ritual and emotion from each of the existing four Vedas: he called the whole as nāṭya-veda. To this the dance element was added as a special contribution by Lord Śiva to enhance the effect. Through his disciple Taṇḍu, Śiva initiated Bharata in the perfect art of Dance. Later the more graceful dance-form lāsya was created which was specially suited for ladies. The whole may be referred to as the 'Veda of the Performing Arts'.

In the collection of Indonesian wayang plays, there is a lakon (story) by name 'The birth of Kāla'. In this play Batara Guru (Śiva) descends to earth with other gods, where they perform music and dance to appease the god Kāla who has become angry. This being a very special play, it seems to contain the distant memory of Śiva being the originator of the dance and theatre which was later codified by Bharata muni in his Nāṭya-śāstra. The American scholar Brandon also comments: "The Murwa Kala story of wayang kulit relates how the gamelan (music) and wayang kulit were created by Batara Guru (the great teacher)". Other Indonesian sources also refer to Śiva performing tāṇḍava. Significantly 'the Birth of Kala' is the only wayang play which may be performed during the day, with lamp and screen although there is no shadow. An elderly, experienced and spiritually pure dalang alone is permitted to perform this play. In this connection it is interesting to recall that the gods do not cast a shadow.

Philosophy of wayang. The Indian origin of the wayang plays is further supported by the existence of puppet theatres in India from very ancient times. These are referred to in the Mahābhārata.[1] Dolls or puppets with strings attached to them were manipulated by the sūtradhāra (lit. holder of the string). Later Indian philosophy identified the sūtradhāra with the Almighty Creator in whose hands we all dance like puppets. This superimposition of philosophy on drama, gave the theatre its inner meaning and spiritual content, a trait which is so clearly seen in the wayang theatre. The idea of the supreme, all-powerful sūtradhāra was so fascinating, practical and real that the later Sanskrit Classical drama accepted the sūtradhāra (stage-manager) as an essential part of theatre.

A similar philosophical explanation is given for the wayang theatre as well. The classical wayang, known as wayang purwa, seeks to bring to life the totality of the universe, especially highlighting its spiritual unity. The white screen which receives the shadow of the puppets is the world. The lamp shaped like a Garuḍa-bird is the Sun that creates and maintains life on earth. The symbolism of Garuḍa has been deliberately chosen for the lamp because his elder brother Aruṇa is the charioteer of the Sun, and he can approach the burning orb. In wayang the puppets are arranged on both sides of the screen, the right representing good characters and the left representing the forces of evil. All the puppets together represent mankind which is a mixture of both good and evil. A wayang performance opens and closes with a special triangular puppet-figure known as the *kayon* or *gunungan* (mountain). The gunungan symbolizes the heart which is the beginning and end of life; it also denotes the spiritual unity of all the characters: birds and beasts, mountains and rivers, men and their cities and palaces that figure in the whole performance. The *dalang* or master-artist who manipulates the puppets represents God; the whole story of the play, the various turns of fortune and its successful conclusion is in the dalang's hands as we ourselves are in God's hands. Thus the wayang theatre combines within itself the best of human effort in art, drama, literature and philosophy, giving a true picture of life on this earth and carrying it forward to its logical conclusion.

---

[1] Pischel believes that the terms *rūppārūpakam* and *rūpɔpajīvana* occurring in a Pali Buddhist text of the first century B.C. and the XIIth book of the Mahābhārata refer to shadow plays. First mention of shadow-puppets in Java is in a copper-plate dated 840 A.D. wherein six kinds of officers are enumerated who supervise musicians, clowns and wayang-performers. Another copper-plate dated 907 A.D. describes a kind of *mawayang*, which could have been a shadow-play. After 1000 A.D. wayang is freely mentioned in elegant court literature. In 1100 A.D. positive evidence of a shadow theatre in India is available: *cammarūpa* or showmen of leather-puppets are described as being employed as spies in Ceylon in the 12th century A.D. In 1243 a full-fledged shadow-drama Dūtāṅgada was written and performed in Gujarat. The 17th century commentator Nīlakaṇṭha tells that in Southern India leather puppets enact stories of kings and ministers before a cloth screen. Earlier Indian sources refer to chāyā-nāṭaka also. Ananda Coomaraswamy refers to Ceylonese shadow-players. (information based on James R. Brandon, *On Thrones of Gold*, 1970).

This mystic or philosophical meaning of a wayang performance is highly subjective. It can differ from person to person. A modern woman poet of Indonesia describes how she used to run away from home with her two girl-friends in order to see a wayang play:

There I saw an Arjuna
The handsome satrya
And his wife
The lovely Sembadra.

And when she reached home dirty and tired, late at night, mother scolded her and put her to bed. But "In her mind she still heard/The rhythm of the gamelan / And the song of the dalang". Thus the wayang show fulfills a deep emotional need for the Javanese; for them it is the medium of mystical stimulus and meditation. In the words of Wagner: "The art of the Javanese springs unconsciously out of collective perception, to seek fellowship with the powers that encompass him. He is driven by a strong impulse to give expression and shape to very complex metaphysical and emotional sentiments." Indeed wayang is the tribute which the Javanese pay to Divinity as it manifests itself before them through the wondrous scenes and dialogues enacted before their eyes. James R. Brandon in his study of the wayang says: "The wayang performance is a mystic spiritual event in which the invisible becomes visible and that which escapes words is communicated. It is a bridge between the human soul and the eternal, a medium which symbolizes the mutual interplay between man and the metaphysical world".

Funding by IKS-MoE

Wayang purwa. The earliest and most traditional form of wayang is known as wayang purwa. The word purwa has been interpreted variously. Some believe it means old or traditional as in Sanskrit. Others relying on a different pronunciation of the same word parwa say that it refers to the parvas or the 52 divisions of the Bratayuda Kakawin which describes the story of the Mahābhārata, dealing with the episode of the great battle only. In my view the former interpretation is correct. Both the Indian epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were well known in Indonesia from the earliest times, soon after contact between the two countries was established in the pre-Christian era. The two epics were translated or better transcreated in the local Javanese literary language known as Kawi (Sanskrit *kavi* 'poet') which developed as a result of its close contact with Sanskrit. Kawi became highly Sanskritized in order to serve as a suitable vehicle to convey the letter and spirit of the Indian originals. The Indonesian genius assimilated the spirit of Indian lore and mythology to such an extent that a large number of new works based on the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata were created. They were master-poets who had a high degree of mastery over the Sanskrit language that they were able to retain even the style and metres, figures of speech and phrases of the originals. Thus Bratayuda and Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin are brilliant original works entirely Indonesian in spirit and character. Rāma and Sītā, Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira are Indonesian personalities, born and living out their life-span on Indonesian soil. The kingdoms, cities, rivers, mountains, flora and fauna mentioned in the two epics, all exist within the precincts of Indonesian geography.

Dutch scholars have been able to count 179 standard wayang purwa plays which rely on the Rāmāyaṇa for their plot and story. Of course, many elements of purely Indonesian inspiration and fantasy have been added to them. Often stories and persons belonging to entirely different ages in India are strangely mixed up, so that it takes a lot of research and investigation to find out their original sources. For example, a group of wayang purwa plays, consisting of five lakons, deals with the history and adventures of Arjuna Sasrabau. In Hindu mythology Sahasrabāhu 'thousand-armed' is the name of Kārtavīrya, also known as Sahasrārjuna. Sahasrārjuna was the son of king Kṛitavīrya of the Haihayas who ruled at Mahiṣmatī. He worshipped Dattātreya and obtained from him several boons such as a thousand arms, a golden chariot which could go whereever he wished and the power of restraining wrong by merely exerting his willpower. The Vāyu-purāṇa mentions him as a contemporary of Rāvaṇa whom he once captured and held prisoner like a beast in a secluded part of his kingdom.

Funding by IKS-MoE

In his later days Kārtavīrya forcibly carried off the Kāmadhenu (celestial wish-fulfilling cow) belonging to Ṛiṣi Jamadagni and was killed by his son Paraśu-rāma. This story is also related in the sixth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa. The wayang purwa lakons describe the above story in terms of the conquests of Dasamuka (king Rawana in a former birth), the prayers and *tapasyā* (meditation) of Arjuna Sasrabau in order to defeat Dasamuka, the gaining of a kingdom by Arjuna Sasrabau, the slaying of Dasamuka and the death of Arjuna Sasrabau.

Eighteen purwa plays have been identified which deal with the Rāma story proper. These consist of the birth of Sinta (Sītā) and her marriage to Rama, Rama's banishment, Sinta's kidnapping by Rawana, Rama's grief and his meeting with monkey warriors Anoman (Hanūmān) and Sugriva, battle of Alengka and the slaying of Rawana.

Wayang purwa plays based on the Mahābhārata have enjoyed greater popularity in Indonesia. In fact the Mahābhārata story has provided the maximum source of inspiration and richness to the wayang theatre. 150 plays, excluding the Rāmāyaṇa plays, dealing with the Pandawa story have been found. These being more popular, show a greater degree of development of the art of wayang theatre. However, the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa plays were not forgotten. As late as the end of the eighteenth century A.D., Arjuna and Kresna puppets bore a strong resemblance to Rama and Lesmana, Indonesian logic and genius having designated Kresna and Arjuna as reincarnations of Rama and Lesmana.

The Mahābhārata story is related in terms of twelve generations of the Pandawa family, beginning from Lord Wisnu and ending with Parikesit, the grandson of Arjuna. In course of time, the Javanese identified themselves completely with the Pandawa family. The setting of the plot of the Pandawa plays is not India but Java and the Javanese themselves experience the struggle which overtakes the Pandawa heroes. The poet of the lakon Arjunawiwāha wrote: "there are people who weep, are sad and aroused watching the puppets, though they know they are merely carved pieces of leather manipulated and made to speak". To make this identification more real and complete, the Indonesians claim that the first historic king of Java by name Jadajana was the son of Parikesit (Parīkṣit, son of Abhimanyu and Uttarā and grandson of Arjuna).

The story of the Pandawa plays in wayang theatre differs slightly from its Indian version. Young Pandawas and Kaurawas are raised together at the court of Astina (Hastināpura). The pandawas are better sportsmen and fighters;

Funding by IKS-MoE

they emerge victorious in all competitions. Duryudana, the eldest Kurawa attempts to burn his cousins the Pandawas in a house of lac. The Pandawas escape. They wander in a forest and receive protection from Matswapati, king of Wirata. The Pandawas build themselves a splendid kingdom of Amarta in the forest. (This is a slight variation of the building of the kingdom of Indraprastha by the Pandawas in India before they went into exile). Yudistira, the eldest Pandawa loses the kingdom of Amarta to Duryudana in a game of dice. He loses his freedom and all possessions. (The loss of Draupadī is not mentioned). The Pandawas are exiled for twelve years, in addition they must spend another year in which they should not be recognized. This last year is spent by the Pandawas in the protection of king Matswapti. Kresna is the adviser of the Pandawas. He attempts to negotiate with the Kurawas to return a part of Astina to the Pandawas, as this was agreed at the time of exile. The Kurawas refuse and the Great War Bratayuda begins. In the war all the sons of Pandawas and all the Kurawas, including Duryudana are killed. Yudistira becomes king of Astina and after years of kingship he hands over the kingdom to Arjuna's grandson Parikesit.

Ethical and spiritual aspect of wayang. Wayang purwa proved to be a very powerful and pleasant medium of teaching the philosophical and spiritual values of the great epics to the simple masses of the Indonesian people. It brought the high moral and ethical tone of persons like Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira, the purity, serenity and steadfastness of heroines like Sītā and Subhadrā in a dynamic and concrete visual form of song and theatre which penetrated the inmost being and ethos of the people. Wayang purwa also retained its ritualistic aspect of invoking the spirit of the ancestors and seeking their benign influence for protection of the family and welfare of the community. By producing the shadows on a screen the dalang enables the living to communicate with their ancestors. The masses liked to see their ancestors in the form of familiar wayang heroes whom they regarded as their ancestors. Thus wayang performances are held to ensure good crops and the safety of cattle, to ward off sickness and disease and to keep at bay the subtler influences of evil which are at work in the world. For this purpose, offerings of fruits and flowers and other articles of food are made and prayers and chants are recited. In this respect wayang purwa is very similar to the ritualistic performance of a Vedic sacrifice or yajña. Performances are held on special days for special purposes. The lakon Arjuna-wiwaha (the meditation of Arjuna where he meets Lord Śiva in the form of a Kirāta 'hunter') is usually performed at marriages to wish the

Funding by IKS-MoE

bride a good, handsome and perfect husband like Arjuna. Arjuna is the favourite of the fair sex and enjoys great popularity with women. At least 41 wedding-lakons have been listed by Dutch scholars. A woman expecting a child, in her seventh month will ask for the performance of Tingkeb, when the wayang Gatutkacha is performed. Gatutkacha (Ghaṭotkaca) is the son of Bima (Bhīma) by his demon wife Arimbi (Hiḍimbā). He is strong and brilliant and has unswerving loyalty to the cause, the ideal and the person. He was killed in battle because of these very qualities. Indians have forgotten their favourite hero Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son who was treacherously killed in the war. Not so the Indonesians Gatutkaca. Every young man who wants to fight and die for his country thinks himself to be the incarnation of Gatutkaca, Gatot for short. The young men who gave their lives for the independence of their country were likened to Gatutkaca. As late as 1965 President Sukarno used to think of himself in terms of Gatutkaca. He had named one of his sons Gatot.

Other lakons like Arjuna Lahir 'Birth of Arjuna', Bima Bangkus 'Birth of Bima' may be performed when the new-born child's navel-cord drops off. Lahirpun Lara Ireng 'Birth of Sumbadra, Arjuna's wife' may be performed to celebrate the birth of a beautiful and beloved daughter. Similarly a child's hair-cutting ceremony (*muṇḍana*), circumcision, purification of a house or soil in the village-field, wishing for a good crop or driving away rats and other pests, the recovery from protracted illness or disease can be the occasions for a wayang purwa performance. Thus wayang purwa is highly personal and spiritually uplifting occasion for the family or person who calls for it. It is usually performed in private homes or kratons 'palaces' of erstwhile rulers, the sultans. The open vestibule where wayang is performed is called pendapa (*maṇḍapa*), this is connected by a covered passage leading to an open gallery pringgita—place for the ringgit (wayang puppet). Usually the head of the family should act as dalang, one who manipulates the puppets. (In Indian terms the dalang would be the purohita or ācārya who conducts the yajña). However nowadays a specially trained and professional dalang is employed.

Wayang plays are never given professionally for commercial purposes. Friends and neighbours join the audience where a wayang show is going on. The mixture of mystic, religious, artistic and historical elements in the show makes it a particularly satisfying experience for the audience. Like the Vedic yajña it generates an atmosphere of general well-being and spiritual calm and purification of the mind. Sometimes the host may ask for a wayang performance in fulfillment of a vow. In that case a whole series of lakons, chosen

Funding by IKS-MoE

from wayang purwa collection, may be performed for seven or eight nights in succession. This is very similar to the akhaṇḍa-pāṭha or non-stop reading of religious texts in India. Wahju Purba Sejati or 'the Reincarnation of Rama' is very popular for this purpose. To commemorate death of an important person pokok plays are chosen where some important hero dies. These plays contain a number of battle-scenes and are full of pathos, Karna Tanding or 'The Death of Karna' is a pokok.

The actual performance and the dalang. A wayang performance generally lasts for nine or ten hours at a stretch. The dalang (a word formed by combining two Indonesian words ngu*dal* + piwu*lang* meaning 'the unfolding of wisdom') comes to the place of the performance a little before 9 p.m. He sits in a particular way. Seated cross-legged in padmāsana or Indian style lotus-posture, his right foot just touching the kechreque, a kind of rattle which hangs down from the edge of the wooden chest on his left. He makes sure that everything is in its proper place. The cempala, a kind of hammer, the required puppets and the indispensable gunungan and the pincers with which he gives a little pull to the wick to make the light fall more brightly on the kelir, screen which has been fixed already.

Introducing the story of the Rāmāyaṇa through a wayang performance, Sunarjo Hadicaroko in his text-book, entitled *Ramayana our National Reader*(1961), intended to teach English to Indonesian school-children, has this to say about the dalang: "He is an extraordinary man, a public entertainer. Physically strong and healthy. He is to sit cross-legged for nine hours. Not a wink of sleep. He cannot get up from his seat until 6 o'clock next morning. He has to strike the kechreque with his right foot almost incessantly. He handles the puppets (which may number more than a hundred and even go up to 300) with both hands, imitates their different voices, tells jokes at appropriate moments and even sings in between. He controls the musicians (seated behind him) without once looking back. At intervals he adjusts the wick to prevent the light from fading out. The script of the story is all ready in his mind fresh. The audience admire and respect him for he is the source of enjoyment, recreation and humour...... He provides food for our eyes, ears, heart and mind. The deep enjoyment he gives is unsurpassed by anything else. A film gives us pleasure also, but it is usually forgotten as soon as it is over. But what the dalang gives us stays much longer in our mind". "And the dalang does all this in return for a very small sum. It in no way compares with what even the poorest film-actor in America (or for that matter India) gets for only one hour's

Funding by IKS-MoE

acting. Foremost in the dalang's mind is to serve the community and his greatest reward is the gratefulness of his audience. Not one dalang has been known to become wealthy. He remains decently poor and humble". Needless to say this is a very apt and bitter commentary upon the character and greed of persons employed in the entertainment profession in other parts of the world together with their quantum of scandals and other vices.

In order to achieve this level of professional and artistic perfection, the dalang has to undergo rigorous training, both physical and intellectual. Sometimes in one scene of a single play more than 37 characters will appear. And the dalang must know them all and read their lines without faltering. He must keep within the limits of proper protocol when he puts words in the mouths of the various figures. He must have equal command of the Old Kawi language with its distinction of Krama and Ngoko, high and low Javanese. He must know that Krama is spoken to gods and other distinguished characters, and Ngoko is used when addressing servants or inferiors. He must remember that Bima speaks Ngoko low Javanese to every one, including gods and his elder brother Yudistira. Only to Dewaruci, his divine essence does he speak Krama. To an Indian cultured in the Sanskrit language, the formal language of the wayang scenes, where gods and the main characters appear, would not be wholly strange. A traditional homage to Girīśa (Śiva), in the beginning of a play says:

"Remembering the importance of his mission to Astina,
Kresna reaches the Plain of Kuru,
He meets the gods: Parasu Rama,
Kanwa, Janaka and Narada.
They meet king Kresna on the plain, wishing to join his mission."
(Brandon's translation)

This verse in its original Kawi phonology would be pleasantly familiar to the Indian ear. The *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* (old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa) the basic source of purwa lakons, was composed by an Indonesian named Yogīśwara. He used the Bhaṭṭikāvya for his model and incorporated most of the Sanskrit metres in his work, making occasional changes to suit the requirements of Kawi.

In addition to his gifts as a speaker, the dalang must possess considerable dexterity of hands and fingers. He must learn to operate only the movable parts of the puppets, the shoulder and elbow joints. He should be able to handle a puppet held in each of his two hands simultaneously. Sometimes even two with one hand with one of them holding a weapon as well. He has to

Funding by IKS-MoE

take care that he uses the correct arm-movements appropriate to the type of person represented. The arms of Bima are to be moved only purposefully and never in a rough, uncouth manner expressing brute force as in the case of the demon Kumbakarna. The arms of Yudistira can never be moved except gently and gracefully. The dalang also learns to make Bima's son Gatutkaca appear to fly on the screen. This hero is accustomed to flying through the air with the speed of lightening and in the hands of a competent dalang, the audience really feels that Gatutkaca is flying through the air. Such was the impact of wayang music and shadow on the minds of people that Mpu Sĕḍah wrote in the poem Bratayuda: "The booming of frogs in the river sounds like *saron* (xylophones) accompanying the wayang play. When wind blows over empty bamboo-cylinders it is like flutes playing for the performance". And the poet of the metrical treatise Wṛitta-sañcaya wrote: "Trees against the clouds in the sky give the impression of being like wayang figures passing before the white playing screen". In addition the dalang has to learn the proper protocol of entrance and exit for each character. A certain amount of bhāva or ceremony is required in bringing persons on the screen and taking them off.

The dalang has to pay special attention in learning the fighting scenes in order to make his audience tense with excitement. The Indonesians really excel in their art of depicting fighting scenes. In this the gamelan, or the musical accompaniment, the clever and quick use of weapons, the arrows and the kris, the controlled force of the warrior and the vicious attack of the adversary, all play their part.

The wayang plays follow a strictly prescribed time schedule. This may be briefly described as follows: (1) The gamelan orchestra opens the performance with a long and pleasing overture, comparable with the traditional Nāndi (pleasing) music played before the beginning of a Sanskrit drama. (2) The dalang arrives. He describes the kraton or the place where the performance is being given and introduces the various participants. (3) Exactly at 9 P.M. the dalang begins the performance proper. The main story is divided into three parts, from 9 P.M. to 12 midnight, the first part or the introduction is given. Midnight to 3 A.M. the development of the plot, complications and the appearance of the adversaries. From 3 to 6 A.M. the dénouement culminating in the triumph of the heroes over their adversaries who represent the forces of evil. The dalang has to strictly observe this time-schedule. His whole mind and body, even the blood coursing in his veins and his breathing becomes so intuned with the rhythm of the play that he is able to bring in the required

Funding by IKS-MoE

events and characters at the specified time. The whole performance moves like a well-rehearsed sequence of a classical ballet, with the audience familiar with every turn and nuance of the story from their very childhood, keeping a close eye on it, enjoying every bit and eagerly looking forward to the next part.

There is also a philosophical explanation of the time-schedule of a wayang play. *Part one* symbolizes childhood and early youth, when evil and corporeal forces dominate. This phase is emphasized by the gamelan playing restless melodies. *Part two* symbolizes manhood when the struggle between the lower corporeal and higher spiritual forces, between evil and good is intensified. During this part the gamelan plays old war-chants. *Part three* and the last, symbolizes maturity or the attainment of inner peace. Spiritual forces prove superior to corporeal forces and the good ultimately prevails, when the orchestra plays benedictory tunes.

Apart from his professional skills, the dalang himself must be a man of considerable learning and good character. He must command respect in the neighbourhood and possess virtues like the ancient sages or Ṛiṣis. To sit non-stop for nine hours at night, without changing position even once, to be without food and water for so long can be acquired only after long practice and self-discipline. Before leaving home the dalang begins to concentrate his senses upon the performance. He prays silently "Om, may nothing give hindrance, O spirits of this house, flying over the earth, Mother of generations. Allah, assist me, fulfill my wish, gratify my intentions". Upon reaching the screen he prays, "O great serpent who supports the earth (this is Śeṣanāga of Indian mythology), O spirits all here, I ask your help. Let not the onlookers disperse before I have finished performing my art". Emphasizing the deep influence of Hindu philosophical thought the dalang prays again adjusting the flame of the wick, "Om, O God of the soul, Essence of the One, O God of Light, may the flame of the lamp shine over the world".

Hindu thought and culture are further emphasized by the characters in the play who constantly sembah (the Indian form of greeting folding both hands with joined palms and bowing the head slightly) to their superiors. In the lakon Karna Tanding 'The Death of Karna', Surtikanti, the consort of Karna, has lost all her sons in battle, and now she is fearful of losing her husband. Karna consoling her says, "Our sons have fallen as honoured warriors *in pursuit of their duties* and Heaven is their reward (compare the Gītā: *hato vā prāpsyasi svargam*). The living all must die! Yet death is but a transition in life, as the spirit contained in the body lives for ever." (Brandon's translation of Javanese text). How close these words are to the teachings of the Gītā, and what a sublime character and culture has been built by them for the Indonesian people !

Wayang as a continuous art form. Describing wayang in Indonesia, Brandon has said: "No where in the world has an art been fostered which was so closely interwoven with the life of a whole nation for so long as in the case with the Javanese puppet-shows." The Javanese accepted the wayang art form, its lore, its humour and tears, its entire philosophy of life as their very own and through the centuries of their history carried it forward keeping its flame alive and bright.

Wayang golek. Under the influence of wayang, in West Java, the Sunda-speaking area, a new type of theatre arose based on Mahābhārata stories, using wooden puppets with movable heads which could be turned around a rod passed through the puppet's body. This was called wayang golek, golek meaning revolving. Wayang purwa puppets were fashioned out of specially treated leather parchment, and were known as wayang kulit (kulit=leather). The golek dolls are dressed in beautiful batik, and may wear real genuine jewellery, if the play is given in a kraton. They perform on ordinary stage both by day and night, the dalang moving from village to village with his limited stock of dolls as they are heavier to carry.

Wayang kruchil. Central Java developed its own form of wayang known as wayang kruchil. It employs flat puppets made of wood. These puppets have movable leather arms and are smaller in size. However they use the traditional leather gunungan 'Tree of Life' as in wayang kulit. Kruchil describes events from Javanese mediaeval history when the Majapahit Empire (1100-1400 A.D.) was flourishing. Their favourite hero is Damar Wulan. The Majapahit period is one of the finest and richest periods of the efflorescence of Hindu art and culture in Indonesia. It's greatest figure was Prime Minister Gajah Mada (Sanskrit Gajamada the valour and strength of an elephant). During his period of power of 34 years (1331-1364) he extended his political authority and expanded Hindu culture in the north upto the island of Sumatra. He conquered the Hindu island of Bali and introduced Javanese culture to the Balinese. Under Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) the Majapahit ruled over all Indonesia and occupied a large part of the Malayan Peninsula, thus giving great impetus in those areas to the Hindu epics and the art and culture propagated by them. Mpu Prapañca in his classic Nagarakertagama written in

Funding by IKS-MoE

1365, says that king Hayam Wuruk himself along with eight young men danced the wayang topeng. The king's father was in charge of the gamelan orchestra and his mother wearing the tekes, the traditional head-dress of topeng dancers, did the vocal accompaniment.

Wayang topeng is the theatre of masks. Its action is based on Hindu epics. Wayang topeng seeks to bridge the territory between theatre and dance. Live persons, wearing masks, carry out the movements of puppets. They move and act according to the will of the dalang, who directs the action and delivers the commentary. The masks are painted and coloured according to set traditions, with a little leather device fastened inside, which permits easy and rapid change of mask. Each mask transfers the character's personality to the actor. The particular moment when the mask is changed is called wanda and it signifies immediate spiritual change in the actor as well.

In our own time when President Suharto came to power, he ordered the mask of Prime Minister Gajah Mada to be brought from Bali to Jakarta, the capital of modern Indonesia. The mask was kept in the President's house for several months. It has certainly brought him strength and luck.

Wayang topeng perfected the art of individual dance; it has no group dances.

Wayang bébér. Apart from wayang kulit, golek and topeng which are the basic forms of the wayang theatre deriving inspiration from Hindu epics, new forms of theatre developed over the course of centuries adjusting it to newer needs and currents. Thus wayang bébér, though perhaps older than wayang purwa in its technique is now found only in Central Java. It consists of a large roll of cloth (very akin to Indian *phada* paintings of Rajasthan) on which the story of the epics is painted in successive pictures. Bébér means to unfold; the dalang unfolds the cloth as he recites the story. These pictures are taken from stone carvings on temple walls, thus giving rise to the speculation that the wayang figures have developed from stone reliefs found in various Chandis (temples) of East Java. The Rāmāyaṇa figures on Chandi Panataran bear definite resemblance to wayang figures, but they have not yet acquired the very special and far-reaching stylization given to the figures after the advent of Islam in Indonesia (1500 A.D. onwards).

Bernet Kempers, formerly Director of Archaeology in Indonesia, writes in his monumental work *Ancient Indonesian Art* (1959): "Chandi Panataran, the largest complex of temples in East Java, is situated north of Blitar at about 450

Funding by IKS-MoE

metres above sea-level. According to the dates on a number of stones found in the grounds, the history of Panataran (original name Palah) covers a period of 250 years at least from 1197 upto 1454. The complex is consecrated to Śiva, Lord of the mountain." The Rāmāyaṇa scenes inscribed on the main temple-walls display distinct wayang features. One of the panels shows Hanūmān moving through the air; he has been wounded by Indrajit and is captured by his enemies. He escapes successfully through the air still with the arrow in his thigh. Another panel shows the palace garden of Rāvaṇa where fighting has started after Hanuman's arrival. Rāvaṇa's garden is characterized by the presence of pārijāta trees, which are to be found only in the garden of Indra. Their presence in Rāvaṇa's garden is to be explained by the fact that he stole them from Indra's heaven! The architectural arrangement of the Panataran temples follows the pattern of Bali island which has maintained much closer emotional and cultural ties with India.

Prime Minister Gajah Mada took the wayang figures to Bali also, where he founded a Javanese settlement. This is corroborated by the fact that the Balinese wayang figures are exact copies of the Rāmāyaṇa stone-reliefs at Panataran. A comparative study would also reveal that the Panataran stone-relief wayang figures bear a strong resemblance to the leather-puppets of the medieval shadow-theatre of Andhra and Orissa in India.

Until recently a very special kind of cloth was used for wayang bébér paintings. It was known as *tapa*, an unwoven material prepared from a specially treated bark. This gave added depth and brilliance to the paintings and made them more lasting.

Wayang madya meaning 'the theatre of the in between' was an attempt to connect the history of the Mahābhārata heroes with the actual rulers of Java. The court-poet of Surakarta in Central Java, by name Ranggawarsita wrote his *Pustaka Raja Madya* in which he gave the geneaology of the Javanese kings said to be descendants of the Pandawas. The lives of these kings presented through shadow-plays were called wayang madya which provided the necessary link between the Pandawa ancestors and the heroes of the later panji plays dealing with actual Indonesian history.

However very little information is now available about the madya art, as it never gained the popularity enjoyed by wayang kulit. R. Soeprapto of the Indonesian Information Service in his study of *Wayang in Indonesia* (1967) gives a different interpretation of wayang madya. According to him wayang madya contains the Javanese version of Arabic, Chinese and other West-Asian literary masterpieces, as well as stories about the persons surrounding the

Funding by IKS-MoE

prophet Mohammed. In my opinion Soeprapto is the victim of a little confusion here. He is using the term wayang madya for those few plays which were so to speak, the connecting link between the pre- and post- Islamic theatre-art in Java. With the advent of a mild form of Islam, brought to these islands by Indian traders from Gujarat (after 1500 A.D.), the Javanese were faced with a new set of cultural values and religious ideas. Yet they were loth to give up the immense wealth of art and beauty and the soul-satisfying media for self-expression which the wayang purwa had given them. Thus in the 16th century plays, the name of Allah was included in some of the prayers and some changes in the dress of certain puppets were made to accommodate Muslim sentiments. Soeprapto adds: "These can be considered attempts to popularize Islam, which can be seen in puppets bearing the clear imprint of Central and West Asian features, dress, shoes and weapons. Later during the Second World War a similar attempt was made by the occupying Japanese forces who modernized wayang bébér and used it for their propaganda". In recent times Christian missionaries were also seen using wayang puppets of Christ and Mary to spread their religion.

Wayang gedog. These plays date back to 700-1100 A.D. They recount legends from actual Indonesian history, mostly concentrated around the panji stories. Kidung and panji are romances relating purely to Indonesian history; as such they have nothing to do with India. They deal with the lives and exploits of the heroes of Kediri, Jenggala, Singasari and Ngurawan, all of whom flourished between 700 and 1100 A.D. According to Soeprapto, the model for panji stories was brought from China; it had gained popularity in Thailand also. However wayang gedog plays could not gain much popularity even though they were later patronized by Prabu Sadmata, a champion of Islam in Java who was venerated as a saint under the name of Sunan Giri. Giri is 'mountain' as well as a special classification of saints in India.

Wayang gedog employs leather puppets. Their head-dress is simpler and the lower garment imitates the Javanese court-dress. The puppets are beautifully made with delicate and artistic perforations. The colours are varied with lovely patterns on their dresses.

Wayang suluh. In 1920 Raden Tumenggung Dutadipraja created a wayang Jawa, about the Javanese wars of independence, particularly highlighting Diponegoro's struggle. Later attempts were made to change the name of this theatre into Wayang Indonesia. A kind of continuation of this is wayang suluh (torch or information wayang), created by the Indonesian freedom-fighters during the period of the 1945 movement. True to life figures of well-known leaders, peasants and other participants from both the Dutch and Indonesian sides were carved and painted realistically. The struggles, progress and difficulties in the fight for freedom are the main issues.

Wayang wong. Tracing the history of the wayang theatre through the ages, we finally come to wayang orang or wayang wong. Orang means man, thus wayang orang is the theatre performed by human beings. Wayang wong was created in the second half of the 18th century after the Giyanti War which divided the Mataram kingdom into three parts, of which Yogyakarta and Surakarta, although close neighbours, developed their own dance-styles. Based on the Hindu epics, wayang wong supplanted masked topeng dance in the courts. It's players do not use masks, and speak their lines for themselves. Ogres and other animals, however, continued to wear masks. Wayang orang brought the theatre-art from the palaces to the people and the dalangs helped to popularize it. The appearance of human performers in place of puppets was against tradition and at first was viewed with fear. Gradually it gained popularity owing to the almost limitless scope it provided for the expression of the human spirit through the creative art of speaking and acting and imitating the personalities of their beloved purwa heroes. In the beginning only men would take part in wayang orang. After 1930, women also started acting, and a wayang wong sequence was created where all the roles were played by women. The wayang wong dances are accompanied and controlled by gamelan music. It is a perfect picturization of nāṭya where the spoken word, music and movement are in perfect harmony. The repertoire based on purwa lakons typifies the high level of culture during the period of Mataram kings.

In 1970 a new version of wayang wong Langen Mandra Wanara was created on the occasion of the International Ramayana Festival. It is an entertainment using a large number of monkeys typifying the war between the monkeys and the demons, where Hanoman, Sugriwa and Subali are the chief figures. A gigantic stage 50 by 12 metres was used, with the dalang reciting the kanda or story from the Rāmāyaṇa. In Jakarta, and other principal cities of Indonesia, a number of professional theatres exist which give regular wayang orang performances today. They help to keep the epic legendary stories alive and fresh.

There is a special wayang titi designed as a toy for children. Small puppets with movable arms, made of lead, a few inches high are placed on a glass surface and manipulated by a magnet placed under the glass. They

Funding by IKS-MoE

are excellent means for training the children in the intricacies of the wayang lore.

Dance as part of wayang. Dances constitute a very important form of wayang topeng and wayang wong since both these types permit the participation of human beings. Topeng dancers speak their parts using hand-gestures (mudrās) prescribed by the Nāṭya-śāstra. The respectful greeting sembah, the meditative posture sila, the calm and serene expression on the face, the various acts of performing worship to the gods are reminiscent of an early Hindu spectacle. The Indonesians have transformed the vigorous and forceful technique of the Hindu dance into their own quiet peaceful and flowing style which very much resembles modern Manipuri dancing. A woman dancer's performance is like the silent blossoming of a flower at night, full of restraint, every gesture composed and graceful, curving inwards like the growing parts of a slender creeper. Her movements are silent and intricate with the deep and liquid eyes shedding lustre and beauty or rasa (sentiment) over the whole performance. The dancers do not wear bells on their ankles, which in this case would prove a distraction. The male dances of giants and demons are forceful and provocative with studied stylized movements packed with meaning. A giant at the time of death, though fallen on the ground, raises his one leg high in the air and trembles with it so as to really give the spectator the creeps and feel of descending death.

With the development of wayang wong, group dances came into vogue. In the beginning there were separate all-male or all-female groups, where sometimes men had to dance the female roles. Later on mixed sequences were composed until a full-fledged modern ballet was created to suit the needs of an independent and modern nation. The new ballet Sendratari Ramayana performed on full-moon nights with the magnificient śikhara (cupola) of the Prambanan temple as its backdrop, is designed for the entertainment and edification of the new generation of young Indonesians born after independence and the large number of friends and guests coming from other countries. Sendratari is derived from *sen*i (dance) + *dra*ma + *tari* (art) 'dance-drama-art' and contains within itself the concept of modern ballet. More than 300 boys and girls participate in this ballet, their movements being controlled by the music of the gamelan and the singing of the narrators. The role of the single dalang has been done away with and the time has been cut to three. hours to suit modern convenience. The epic kernel of the story and the narrative verses remain the same as in wayang purwa. Thus the wayang theatre in its latest incarnation of

Funding by IKS-MoE

Sendratari Ramayana has acquired world-wide appeal without losing its original moorings and yet overcoming the language barrier.

Physical features of wayang puppets. For an Indian student of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, it is a fascinating study to note what his Indonesian counterpart thinks or feels about the familiar characters of the two epics. The shape and size and the contour of the wayang puppet emphasize the nature of the person it represents. Eyes, nose, mouth, position of head, structure of body, shape of hands, placing of legs, hair-style, colour of face and body, everything is meticulously planned and prescribed by the Indonesian artists to bring the desired personality alive on the screen. The colours ranging from rose-pink to red are used for the faces of characters who are ill-bred, rough and violent like the giants of Alengka and the Kurawas. Black is used for those characters who are calm and courageous and have their passions under control. They are capable of deep spiritual concentration which enables them to achieve victory over figures who may be physically superior to them. Black colour can also denote that a person is a reincarnation or that he has great physical strength. Kresna is foremost amongst such characters. Not only his face is painted an attractive blue-black (*Megha-śyāma*), his blood and bones and all other elements of the body are black. Rama, Lesmana and the five Pandawa brothers have black faces. Yudistira's face is black, but his body, bones and blood are white owing to the extreme purity of his character. In the Indonesian conception no one man is wholly good or wholly bad. Thus Duryudana and Karna who goes over to Duryudana's side are given black faces. Sometimes there are several puppets to represent the same figure; they can come in different colours in order to suit his mood at the time. Thus Bima can appear with a black, gilded or rose-coloured face. Acting as Jagal Abilawa (cook) in the palace of the king of Wirata, he appears in a rose-pink face. Otherwise generally he comes in a black face. Prabu Dasamuka (Rawana) always comes in a deep red face. Red is the colour of power, it is also the colour of blood (*rajas*). The entry of the red-faced Rawana on the wayang screen always creates a kind of mental turbulence and restlessness within the audience. In contrast the entry of Hanoman (who is always painted white) creates a feeling of calm, because now the audience know that the evil influence of Dasamuka will be suitably counteracted by the superior nature of Hanoman.

Facial colours ranging between white, black, yellow or gold and red represent special spiritual qualities and characteristics, white is for spiritual growth, acquisition of knowledge, self-sacrifice and tolerance. Hanoman is the perfect

Funding by IKS-MoE

example of this, hence he is known all over South-East Asia as 'The White Monkey'. Red is for passion, energy, aggressiveness and a hot temper. Gold or yellow signifies the harmony between physical and spiritual qualities typified in the sensitiveness and grace of Arjuna. Gold symbolizes aesthetic beauty. Black is the symbol for the Javanese virtue of *kaprawiran*, self-discipline and control and paying heed to one's own conscience. Kresna and Yudistira belong to this group. They do not succumb to joy or grief and true to the teaching of the Gīta remain steadfast in adversity or prosperity: *sukhaduḥkhe same kṛtvā lābhalābhau jayājayau.* Thus the basic concepts of colour in wayang are the same as in the Indian Chhau or Ankiya Nat, but the Indonesians have adapted and used them on a very wide scale expressing the myriad shades of personality and temperament through them.

Kumbakarna, Rawana's brother is the tallest puppet 32½ inches high. Being a demon his face is red. He has two tusks coming out of the corners of his mouth adding to his ferocious appearance. Dursasana, Burisrawa and Dasamuka are hot-tempered. They have one tusk sticking out of the mouth.

Puppet craft. Earlier the wayang puppets were fashioned out of lontar or palm fronds. As they were found to become brittle and were less lasting, wood and leather were substituted. In time leather puppets of wayang kulit gained popularity. The construction of a wayang kulit puppet requires the combined effort of several types of craftsmen and artists. The men who turn the buffalo-hide into parchment, the man who cuts it to shape and makes the tiny perforations, the gilder, the painter, the artist and the man who prepares the long horn for supporting the puppet. Sometimes one single puppet-piece will show a whole army in battle, marching with flags and weapons. This puppet is called rampogan or ampjak. An excellent example of this puppet measuring 16½ × 27″ is preserved in the British Museum Raffles Collection. The literally hundreds of perforations made in the body of the puppet to indicate dresses and ornaments result in astonishingly beautiful shadow-patterns testifying to the refined taste of the Javanese and their love of carefully worked detail. Puppets are painted identically on both sides in a variety of beautiful colours to emphasize the clothes and jewellery worn by them. The loin-cloths or breeches of special characters have particular batik designs on them. Bima's breeches are decorated with a beautiful Garuda's head, and he always wears a check loin-cloth sporting the four primary colours.

The gunungan. The gunungan (derived from *gunung* 'mountain') mentioned earlier is a very special puppet. In Bali it is called Meru, referring to the mythical

Funding by IKS-MoE

mountain where Manu together with all his creatures found new life after the Deluge. Gunungan is the symbol of the universe, it is used to mark the beginning and end of each performance and changes of scene. It indicates the presence of mountain or river, or palace or forest, or even a flying cloud on the stage. Also know as *kayon* (from *kayu* meaning tree) it stands for the Tree of Life. A gateway and its roof, flanked by stylized wing-motifs, are represented on its lower portion Butas or dvārapālas holding clubs stand on both sides guarding the gate. The Balinese Meru does not have a gate; it is also a little different in shape. The rest of the tree or leaf-shaped figure is covered with details of jungle plants, birds and beasts, snakes, monkeys, lion and bull. The gunungan in the Raffles Collection has a pair of cannon placed on top of the gateway. This is the artists' method of showing his determination to fight the Dutch fire-arms on an equal footing.

The gunungan occupies a very significant place in the philosophy of wayang. As a symbol of the universe, all characters of the play arise from it, and having played out their appointed role in life, go back to rest in it only to rise again when the dalang wishes to use them for another performance. Great care is taken of all the puppet figures. They are carefully wrapped in cotton and rested over soft pleated bamboo trays amongst peacock feathers *lanchur merak* to help prevent moths.

It is believed that Islamic philosophy has influenced the shape and dress of the puppets to a certain extent. Being a shadow-play from the very beginning, the real human shadow in the sun inspired the artist in his task of stylization. His model was the unusually elongated shadow of his own body in the early morning or late afternoon sun. The shoulder-line is much enlarged and the face with its prominent nose is presented in profile. Wayang purwa puppets were draped in the Hindu loin-cloth; Islamic influence introduced short pants for the men, and full-sleeved jackets and shoes for such characters as Abiasa (*Vyāsa*), Kanwa, Narada and Durno who are supposed to be sages and teachers. The Sunan of Giri had ordered a non-realistic puppet set in the 16th century in order to comply with the Muslim tenet against the protrayal of the human form. He even tried to ban the wayang-show for a time. However he did not succeed in his efforts. Islam could neither prevent nor penetrate into the epic content of the wayang plays. Islamic stories proved too drab to catch the imagination of the people and the appeal of the epic heroes remained firmly embedded in the Hindu-Javanese mind. The character of the purwa heroes remained untouched by Islamic ideas. In fact, the Hindu ethos was so powerful that even mosques built at the time were provided entrances in the shape of a split gate (Chandi Bentar) as seen in Hindu temples of Bali.

The Panakawan. Apart from the epic heroes, whose Indonesian character we shall discuss later, a group of special puppets has been included in the purwa repertoire. These are panakawans meant to provide comic relief to the otherwise serious subject-matter of the purwa plays. They serve more or less like the vidūṣaka 'court jester' of Sanskrit drama, offering personal service and advice to the heroes, very often saving them from trouble. They appear in the second part of the show, after midnight when the confusion of *gara-gara* is in progress. Gara-gara refers to natural disturbances on earth like earthquakes, tidal waves, famine and plague which occur when an important character engages in *tapas* to gain a certain objective and the gods are unable to control him. This is the time when Semar, appears with his three sons Petrok, Nalagareng and Bagong. The appearance and activities of the three sons evoke a great deal of mirth and laughter. Petrok is very very tall, with a long nose sticking out, Gareng is a deformed dwarf, he has a club foot and limps. Both these brothers sport a thick tuft of hair (*śikhā*) on top of their skulls. Bagong is dull-headed, fat and short and looks very much like his father Semar. The Indonesians consider Semar to be the incarnation of Ismaja (a pre-Hindu Indonesian god) and elder brother of Batara Guru (Śiva). He was formerly as handsome as Śiva himself, but he made some mistake and was sent down to earth to be born as a servant and to mix with men and prevent them from doing wrong. He appears as the servant of Rama or Lesmana or one of the Pandawas or their sons. Semar and his sons symbolize the servant-god relationship; they are gods as well as servants. The idea reflects the keen Indonesian sense of social justice; they also serve who are born low and the lowliest of the lowly has a role to play in life and is compensated for it like the Semar family. Semar and his sons do not allow their masters to submit to their weaknesses; they serve as their more powerful inner conscience. There is a Javanese saying: "With Semar on your side how can you lose?" which matches the Indian saying "With Kṛiṣṇa on your side how can you lose?"

Petrok shows uncanny strength in spite of his skinny arms and legs. He says to the heroes: "You kshatriyas always have the gods helping you, but I have none to help me. I must defend myself by all means!" Petrok and Gareng always enter the scene quarrelling, in the end Petrok manages to have the upper hand over his elder brother Gareng. Semar is old and suffers from bleary eyes and excess of wind. He always breaks wind on the stage, causing the children to hold their noses though they know that he is just a puppet. In addition he is always wiping his dripping eyes. Bagong makes every one laugh by mispronouncing all the names and making hilarious puns. Semar's role becomes more important when he is serving the Pandawas. He then acquires the status of a god and speaks to everybody in low Javanese. He has the same rank as Kresna and advises the Pandawas in battle. Semar and his sons are always for truth and justice. They will never go on the side of the Kurawas. Another interesting story about Semar connects him with the fixing of the island of Java which was supposed to be floating on the surface of the sea. The peculiar diagonal-shaped checks on Semar's dress give him a certain magical power. He also wears a red pepper as his ear-ornament to word off evil. Red peppers are commonly used in India to ward off evil.

In one of the recent lakons *Endan Wrasdiningsih*, the three sons of Semar are sent to find out Kurawa secrets. They go to the palace of Banowati (Duryudana's wife) disguised as women. The audience laughs when they see the tall and skinny Petrok dressed in a mini-skirt. The over-fat Bagong has gone as a woman egg-vendor and the deformed Gareng is dressed as a girl-student to express criticism of modern girls aping the West. All the three excite hilarious laughter and provide further opportunities for mirth when they meet the Kurawa men. The presence of these clown characters and their integrated role with the heroes has made wayang the most vibrant and popular entertainment in Indonesia providing instant means for criticizing harmful social and political activities.

The male servants have their female counterparts as well who render service to the heroines. Gareng's fat wife Cangik has a very thin and fashionable daughter Limbuk. She is very vain and carries a comb in her hand which she also uses as an instrument for fighting. Her mother provides further fun by trying to find a suitor for her at all odd times. On her own, Limbuk is a big flirt. Once, dressed as a young student, she was discovered pillion-riding with a man. Taken to task by her mother, she says arousing peals of laughter, that the man who gave her a ride was her professor.

The Kurawas also have a servant in the form of Togog to advise them, but he is not so clever as Semar. While in Indonesia this writer wanted to have a carving made of Semar, but the Sultan of the Kasapuan palace where the carving was to be made said: "You must order a carving of Togog as well as a counterpart to complete the study !" The Indonesian wayang attempts to give a balanced view of the whole. The good and the bad both have their counter-

Funding by IKS-MoE

parts. Nothing is totally good or totally bad. The Semar group of good servants and Togog illustrate this very well.

INDONESIAN INTERPRETATION OF WAYANG PURWA HEROES

Our Indonesian neighbours view the characters of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa heroes in the light of their own experience and geography. Their personalities and incidents in their lives, since they migrated to Indonesia, have undergone considerable change, as if they were men living out their counterpart lives in the enchanted isles of Dvīpāntara.

Bima (Bhīma) is an important Pandawa puppet. He appears in two forms, as the young Bratasena and as the fully grown powerful Wrekudara (Vṛikodara 'one who has a wolf's appetite'). As Wrekudara, Bima disdains to ride a chariot. He crosses over hill, forest and ocean striding with his mighty legs. Rejecting pomp and luxury, he fears none. He is heavy-muscled, hairy and with big protruding eyes and a thundering voice. Physically a total contrast to his elder brother Yudistira, he has the same noble qualities: unswerving loyalty, honesty and fortitude. The lakons describe him as 'Defender of the Pandawas' and 'Pillar of the State'. As Bratasena, Bima wears a crown and his hair is loose. In all cases he wears the same poleng (check loin-cloth) which marks him as the son of Bayu (Vāyu the windgod). Bayu himself and his other son Hanoman also appear in the same check loin-cloth. Both Bima and Bayu have a *ratna* (jewel) on the forehead which marks their wisdom. Bima and Hanoman have the pancanaka; these are five long nails to pull out the entrails of the enemy. As Wrekudara, Bima's thumbnail is unusually long. In the kratons of Cheribon, Bima has red stripes near his mouth indicating his act of drinking Dursasana's blood during the war. The four colours used for marking the checks on his poleng stand for the unity of the three powers of Nature Śiva (white and yellow), Brahmā (red) and Viṣṇu (black). They also signify his conquest of the baser passions which he achieved through his struggle in the discovery of Devaruci, his own radiant self.

The practical and careful nature of the Javanese in taking care of the rearguard has provided the wayang puppets with a fearful mask known as Kala (Time the All Destroyer), protecting their back. Just as the imposing Gaṇeśa sculpture in Blitar (East Java) has a Kala head at the back. Similarly Bima as Bratasena, when he needs greater protection, wears the Kala at the back.

Funding by IKS-MoE

According to a thesis written by Dr. Priyohoetomo in 1934 the turning point in Bima's life came when he was faced with Dewaruci (also Bimaruci and Nawaruci). Durno (Droṇa) as the military adviser of the Kurawas wanted to eliminate Bima from the fray. So he gives him the impossible task of finding the Tirtha-Pavitra (holy water) somewhere at the bottom of the ocean. As a dutiful pupil (Durno being the teacher of military science for both the Kurawas and the Pandawas), Bratasena goes in search for it. After many many adventures and conquests of nagas and demons, he meets a little being which is almost his replica, wearing the same poleng and the pancanaka, only the hair is different. The little being is Dewaruci who at that moment is united with Bratasena. At this point Bima is so overcome with humility that he bows before Dewaruci. This act he had never done before, either to man or god. His bowing attitude is shown in the sloping shoulders of the puppet. Bima undertook this journey as a young man in his teens. After his union with Dewaruci he became a fully grown man. Now his puppet is 24½ inches high as compared to Dewaruci's which is only 9½ inches. Thus Bima, the second Pandawa was able to discover his true self and he came back from the expedition richer and stronger than before. Dewaruci is his superior self; he is the only person to whom Bima speaks respectfully in Krama, high Javanese The personality of Bima was built up during the 18th and 19th centuries (period of Dutch colonization) in order to create self-confidence amongst the Javanese to rise against the colonialists.

During one of his journeys to the nether regions Bima's younger brother Arjuna had married Nagangini, the daughter of the Naga Anantabhoga. A son named Anantasena was born and left behind. Later the young Anantasena went in search of his father and this became the subject of another famous wayang play, the lakon Sumbadra Larung. 'The suicide of Sumbadra (Subhadrā)'. In another episode Bima married Harimbi, the sister of the Raksesa Hidimba, ruler of Pringgondani, situated high up in the mountains. Out of this union Gatutkaca was born, who inherited the ability to fly from his mother. President Sukarno used to refer to him as "the first Indonesian astronaut !" An interesting story is connected with Gatutkaca's birth. Even at birth he was so powerful that his umbilical cord could not be cut. Luckily for him just at that time a giant king wanted to marry Suraprabha a heavenly nymph, and for this purpose he attacked Suralaya, the abode of gods. The newborn babe Gatot did not approve of this, and he tried to kill the giant, though he did not succeed. Seeing this extraordinary feat on the part of the

Funding by IKS-MoE

infant, Batara Guru was able to know that he was the newborn son of Bima. Being told by Narada that his umbilical cord could not be cut, he gave the weapon kuntavijayadhanu to him and asked him to pass it on to Arjuna who would use it for cutting the cord. Since Arjuna and Karna (both sons of Kunti) looked very much alike, Narada gave the weapon by mistake to Karna. Now the weapon kunta was very powerful and could be used only once. Realizing his mistake Narada informed Arjuna about it. Arjuna requested Karna to hand over the weapon to him, which he refused to do. The two fought; in the struggle Arjuna managed to snatch the sheath. A scuffle followed in which Bima also joined and separated the fighting couple by slapping both Karna and Arjuna. Kresna appeared on the scene. He informed that the child's cord could be cut with the sheath as well. During the cutting operation the sheath disappeared within the child's body. Kresna then explained that the weapon kunta will one day find its sheath and be united with it because the two cannot remain separated. This was a forewarning of Gatutkaca's death at the hands of Karna.

Birth of Jayadratha. A similar story is intertwined with the birth of Jayadratha. The Mahābhārata describes Jayadratha as being as strong as Bhīma. The Indonesians interpret this fact in their own way. It appears that Bima was born with his water-bag in tact. The skin of the bag was so strong that nobody could break it. Dewi Durga, who is always on the side of the Kurawas as opposed to Batara Guru who helps the Pandawas arrived on the scene and gave the special pancanakha to the child with which he could pierce the bag from inside and come out. Somehow this was not possible. Kresna then asked the elephant Seno to crush open the bag. The child thus born was called Brataseno (brata =child, seno=elephant). After the birth of Brataseno his membrane was thrown away. It was discovered by a Risi named Bagawan Sāpavāni, who transformed it into the body of Jayadratha. The family resemblance between Bima, his son Gatutkaca and Jayadratha was so great that when Jayadratha came of age, Sangkuni (Śakuni) uncle and actual adviser of the Kurawas, saw the advantage of having such a person to help them against the Pandawas. Thus at the instance of Sangkuni Duryudana's sister Dewi Dursilowati was given to him in marriage, binding him firmly to the Kurawa side.

The unscrupulous character of Jayadratha was an added cause in his being chosen as an ally of Duryudana. In the Mahābhārata, Jayadratha (king of Suvīra or Sindhu) while journeying to attend his marriage with Duryodhana's sister Duḥśālā, saw Draupadī, wife of the Pandavas, unattended. Smitten by

Funding by IKS-MoE

her beauty he attacked her and inspite of her resistance wanted to carry her away. The Pandawas pursued him and he received a good beating at the hands of Bima and Arjuna who shaved his head leaving five ugly tufts on it. They spared his life because he was soon to marry their cousin Duḥśālā. This act of humiliation suffered at the hands of the Pandawas made Jayadratha all the more bitter and willing to join the Kurawas. In the war Jayadratha was responsible for killing Arjuna's young son Abimanyu. He remained throughout loyal and helpful to Duryudana taking the place of another Gatutkaca on the Kurawa side. In Indonesia Jayadratha became the king of a place known as Bono Kling in Java. The place-name Kling refers to Kaliṅga (Orissa) in India. Even now people of Indian origin are referred to as Kling by the Indonesians. The puppets of Jayadratha and Gatutkaca received similar powers; the hair-do and the wings on the back of the two puppets are similar.

Gatot is boiled in steel. Now it happened that when the child Gatot attacked the giant in Suralaya, he could not completely defeat him. This worried the gods. So Narada suggested that they take the child to the crater Chandradimuka (a volcano near Bandung) to make him stronger. The child Gatot was boiled inside the crater, while all the gods were asked to throw gold, silver, copper, iron and other metals into the volcano. Strengthened with this alloy Gatot came out a full-grown and powerful man, with a body of tempered steel. To this day the Javanese sing of him:

"A handsome man
with sinews of wire,
And bones of steel
And a glittering golden
Star on his chest !"

The gold thrown inside the crater was transformed into a powerful armour which shone like a bright star on his chest. In all forms of wayang, Gatot is recognized by this star shining on his chest.

The present Officers' Training College in Bandung is also named Candradimuka, a place where you make people strong ! Similarly the Air Force base at Halim in Jakarta is called Pringgondani, the name of the kingdom of the kind-hearted giants ruled by Gatot's mother and uncle and from whom he inherited his ability to fly. Pringgondani is high in the mountains and can be reached only by flying.

The weapon kunta and the death of Gatutkaca. On the fourth day of the Great War Bratayuda, Arjuna was tricked into killing Burisrawa eldest son of king

Funding by IKS-MoE

Salya, a man of giant proportions and a strong and unbridled temper. He falls desperately in love with Sumbadra Arjuna's wife; the story of his attempts to win her is described in many lakons. He took a vow that he will not look at another woman if he failed to win Sumbadra. Having failed, he remained a childless bachelor until he was killed by Arjuna. As Arjuna withdraws from battle his place is taken by Gatutkaca, who has to face the Kurawa forces lead by Adipati Karna. Gatutkaca has made up his mind to provoke Karna in order to make him use his weapon kunta against him. It is well known that when Karna and Arjuna will come face to face, then Karna will surely use the weapon kunta resulting in Arjuna's death. Gatutkaca decided to sacrifice himself to save the rest of the Pandawas. Hearing this news the Pandawas wept. They know that when provoked Karna will use the weapon, Gatutkaca will die and Arjuna and the rest of the Pandawas will be saved.

Next morning when Karna was waiting for Arjuna to come and fight, Gatutkaca using his ability to fly, went high up in the sky and hid himself behind a thick cloud, from where he hurled abuse at Karna, calling him a low-born bastard. Karna could not tolerate this; in a fit of temper he threw the weapon kunta at the cloud. In a flash the weapon joined its sheath inside Gatot's body and the brave Gatutkaca fell lifeless on the ground. As soon as Karna saw him, he realized his mistake, but he could do nothing, as the weapon could be used but once and now it was gone for ever. Thus Gatot becomes Indonesia's beloved hero, sacrificing his life for his country and his people.

The suicide of Sumbadra and the recognition of Anantasena. Kresna's beautiful sister Sumbadra is married to Arjuna. Even so she has a persistent suitor in the person of Burisrawa, son of Salya. Burisrawa's mother is Satyawati daughter of Bagaspati (Vanaspati), Raksesa lord of the forest kingdom. One day wandering in his grandfather's kingdom, Burisrawa chanced upon the lovely Sumbadra who was alone enjoying the beauties of nature. Burisrawa used the opportunity to abduct her, but she proved too quick for him. She noticed his kris sticking out, seizing it she stabbed herself. Seeing her wounded and dying, Burisrawa was in a panic. He began looking for help, when Kresna and the Pandawas arrived. They were sad to see her in such a condition. Kresna advised the Pandawas to place the body of the dying Sumbadra in a boat and let it float along the river Ganga under escort of Gatutkaca, who would keep watch on her from the air, until she will be brought back to life by a young innocent boy.

Sumbadra's body drifting along towards the sea, came to rest near a beach. This was the same spot where the young Anantasena was emerging from the earth looking for his father. Seeing the young lady lying on the beach, he wanted to help her. Sending a prayer upto his absent father, he licked the sole of his step-mother's foot, with which Sumbadra came to life. Gatutkaca who was watching this drama from above, thought that this young boy must have killed Sumbadra. So he swooped down on Anantasena and engaged him in battle. When Sumbadra gained consciousness, she stopped the fight and related how the young Anantasena had saved her life. Later the two cousin brothers went and fought Burisrawa in order to punish him for his evil deed. The two young men fighting the giant Burisrawa is the subject of a popular fighting scene in wayang. Ultimately the two boys, together with Sumbadra go to the Pandawas, where Kresna reveals that Anantasena is the son of Nagangini whom Arjuna had married in the nether regions. A happy reunion between father and son takes place. Anantasena though young in years, was Arjuna's equal in strength. One day Kresna asked him to destroy himself by licking his own foot and return to Patala, because he feared that if allowed to live, the whole of the Kurawa race would be wiped out by him. This must not be because Fate had not willed it so, and even gods like Kresna must not interfere with the turn of Fate. So the young and brilliant Anantasena was sacrificed for Destiny to take its course. Had he lived he would have changed the whole course of the Bratayuda war. This is how the Javanese ethos emphasizes constant self-discipline, self-control and the ability to withdraw oneself at the crucial moment even at the cost of total self-extinction.

In the Javanese wayang Gatutkaca marries Arjuna's daughter Pragiwa whom he meets in an encounter. The hair on her chest attracts him, because he had promised himself to marry only a girl who would be hairy like him. He had a son named Tutup by her. Gatotkaca like his father Bima, remained faithful to his single wife throughout life. Abimanyu, the son of Arjuna from Sumbadra, has two wives, Sitisundari the daughter of Kresna and Uttari the daughter of Matswapati, king of Wirata. Abimanyu is also known by the name Angkawijaya.

The story of Salya and the defeat of Karna. Salya was the maternal uncle of the Pandawas being the brother of Madri who was the mother of the two youngest Pandawas Nakula and Sadewa. As crown prince of Mandaraka, Salya's name was Narasoma. He had fallen in love with Kunti who was already promised to Pandu. A duel followed in which Narasoma was defeated. A

Funding by IKS-MoE

beautiful Javanese dance Pandu Narasoma is based on this episode. The defeated Salya then looked for another bride, whom he found in the person of Satyawati, daughter of Bagawan Bagaspati. Bagaspati was a Raksesa living like a Risi. One day he happened to hear the inner voice of his son-in-law which said that he was very much ashamed that his father-in-law was a Raksesa. At this Bagaspati decided to put an end to his own life, but before he did so he passed on the weapon Aji Candabhairava to Salya. This weapon had the capacity to multiply itself a thousandfold. And with this weapon he allowed himself to be killed, while inwardly cursing Salya that he would be killed by a person who would have white blood. This was Yudistira, son of Dharmaraja and extremely pure in character. During the war Salya is killed at the hands of Yudistira.

Salya had four children from his wife Satyawati. Burisrawa we have already met. The youngest Banowati was married to Suyudana. Her proud bearing is indicated in the puppet by her upturned nose and scornful smile. Before her arranged marriage with the eldest Kurawa, she is said to be secretly in love with Arjuna. This passion continues and she persists in passing on Kurawa military secrets to the Pandawas. After Suyudana's death, Arjuna takes her as his wife. But this state lasts for one day only. Aswatama, Guru Durno's son, creeps into the Pandawa camp at dead of night after the battle is lost and kills her in her sleep. Suyudana and Banowati have a son Lesmana Mandrakumara. Many of the lakons describe the desperate attempts of Suyudana to find a wife for his son who is vain, weak and dull-headed and given to pleasures of the flesh. Invariably one of the stronger and more attractive Pandawa boys succeeds in carrying off the intended bride. Once Baladewa, husband of Erawati (another daughter of Salya) wanted to help Lesmana Mandrakumara by requesting his brother Kresna to give one of his daughters in marriage to him. Kresna lays down certain tasks to be fulfilled in which Lesmana Mandrakumara not only fails but makes a laughing stock of himself. Ultimately the bride is won by Abimanyu. Salya's fourth child, daughter Surtikanti is married to Karna.

In a moment of weakness, flattered by Duryudana's lavish hospitality, Salya had promised his help to him, although by right he and his army should have fought on the side of the Pandawas. Even though he could not get out of this alliance, unconsciously he was always on the side of the Pandawas. He also had a feeling of discomfort and resentment in being asked to act as the charioteer of his son-in-law Karna. These were the reasons why Salya and Karna

Funding by IKS-MoE

have violent quarrels during one of which Salya was grossly abused by Karna. The Javanese Bratayuda devotes a whole parva to this tiff between the two. Throughout the battle Salya continues to sing the praises of Arjuna in order to dampen Karna's spirits and initiative. On the day when Karna was facing Arjuna in the battle, Salya purposely drove Karna's chariot against a big stone and broke one of the wheels, thus causing Karna to miss his aim and giving a chance to Arjuna to kill him. In one of his weaker moments Salya had revealed the secret of his death to his two nephews Nakula and Sadewa, that he had the weapon Candabhairava and that he would die at the hands of Yudistira, the man with the white blood. After the death of Karna, Salya was chosen the leader of the Kurawa army. Yudistira was personally commanding the Pandawa forces. A fierce battle ensued in which Salya was killed by Yudistira's weapon. The curse of father-in-law Bagaspati had come true. Satyawati, remembered for her sense of loyalty to her dead husband, went to the battlefield looking for his corpse.

Aswatama. The Javanese believe that Guru Durno was very fond of the company of beautiful women. When all the characters of the Mahābhārata epic were crossing over from the Indian continent to Dvīpāntara in the wake of Risi Agastya, Durno (Droṇa) was lagging behind making love to the celestial nymph Wilutama (Tilottamā). In the meanwhile the seabed whose waters were quaffed up by Agastya, was again filled with water and it was impossible for Durno to cross over. So he requested the heavenly Wilutama to fly over to the other side with him resting on her back. The nymph obliged, but while descending on the other side she made a false landing as she was feeling the pangs of childbirth. Durno fell down and broke his elbow, as a result in wayang he is always shown with a bandaged arm. Durno had prayed to Dewi Durga to grant him a son. Thus Wilutama gave birth to their son Aswatama. Bambang (young man) Aswatama, as he is known in early youth, does not die on the battlefield, as he was destined to take revenge on Cempalaraja Drupada for insulting his father. Durno and Drupada were classmates and friends in childhood. In childish exuberance Drupada had offered to share half his kingdom with his friend Durno. Both grew up and lost contact with each other for a long time. When Durno fell on bad times and could not afford even food and milk for his family, he requested Drupada, king of Cempala to honour his pledge. Drupada by this time, was the father-in-law and friend of the Pandawas. He not only refused but insulted the teacher of military science. Having suffered this snub from the Pandawa side, Durno accepted the job of adviser-

Funding by IKS-MoE

tutor to the Kurawas. The Indonesians consider this as the great betrayal. Even in recent times politicians like Dr. Subandrio were termed Durno. Aswatama swore revenge and annexed half of Cempala on behalf of his father. Aswatama is as shrewd and cynical as his father. He has a great ability for spying. He discovered that Banowati and Salya were secretly working for the Pandawas but Suyudana did not take him seriously.

During the battle Yudistira, who was known never to speak a lie, connived at the killing of Durno by uttering the ambiguous phrase "Aswatama is dead !" thereby meaning that the elephant named Aswatama was dead. This was possible by using the word *esti* (=*hasti*) in Javanese which means 'indeed' as well as 'elephant'. Durno could not bear the shock of the news of his son's death and was killed at the hands of Dristadyumna, son of Drupada, his one time friend and enemy. Aswatama, mad with grief, swore revenge against the killers of his father. With the help of Dewi Durga and his mother he is equipped with a powerful weapon. At dead of night after all the heroes on both sides, except Kresna and the five Pandawas had fallen, he crept into the Pandawa camp and murdered all the sleeping women and children. All the Pandawa women and their babies were massacred except Parikesit, son of Abimanyu and grandson of Arjuna, who was sleeping in a separate chamber with his nurse. Aswatama together with Hanoman is one of the few characters in Indo-Javanese mythology who are unable to die; they live for ever. The child Parikesit later became the ancestor of the Javanese kings.

Sangkuni. Sangkuni is Dristarata's brother-in-law and maternal uncle of the Kurawas. He is an evil genius who always distorts truth and lays traps for others. Most of the miseries of the Pandawas were due to his designs and strategems. Both wayang kulit and orang paint him with a very wide mouth. He dies a terrible death in the battle when Bima tears apart his wide mouth. Sangkuni's puppet has a club-nose and exposed gums and a beard which give him a lowly moral character. In dress and manner he tries to appear as lower than the most lowly in order to scrounge before his master Suyudana.

Suyudana. Suyudana, king of Astina is the eldest of 99 Kurawa brothers. Astina is the most powerful and splendid capital of Javanese mythology which was brought to its ruin by the fatal course adopted by Suyudana. Suyudana is killed by Bima in an equal fight with clubs (*gadā*) when Draupadi (the common wife of the five Pandawas) was being dishonoured in the Kurawa court. Suyudana had slapped his left-thigh derisively inviting her to come and sit in his lap.

Funding by IKS-MoE

In the Javanese wayang Kresna slaps his own thigh thereby indicating to Bima Suyudana's weak spot where he should aim his club even though this was against the rules of the fight. The death of her eldest and most beloved son drove Gandhari the mother of the 100 Kurawas to boundless rage and anguish. She cursed Kresna saying that he together with his family and the entire Yadava clan would be exterminated by their own hand. And history records that this was so.

The actual name of Suyudana was Duryudana. When the Javanese received the Mahābhārata, they introduced certain changes in names. In Sanskrit the prefixes *su* and *dur* mean good and bad respectively. The Indonesians wanted a better and more balanced version of the characters for themselves, so they changed the *dur* of Duryodhana to *su*. (In the Mahābhārata also Duryodhana is sometimes addressed as Suyodhana! but this is always done tauntingly.) In a similar process President Sukarna's father wishing to name his son after the illustrious hero Karna, christened him Sukarna or Sukarno, thereby hoping that the Indonesian leader would not betray the land of his birth as Karna betrayed the side of his mother. Left to himself alone, in wayang Suyudana is not so bad. He is strong and courageous with a volatile and impetuous temper. His uncontrolled nature of a Satraya coupled with his enormous greed and his weakness in listening to the advice of his uncle and prime minister Sangkuni are the cause of his undoing. The mean, sly and scheming Sangkuni is the one who suggests the burning of the Pandawas in a house of lac, and driving them destitute out of the kingdom by cheating them at the game of dice. Sangkuni consistently encourages Suyudana to engage in the most selfish and unjust acts against his cousins the Pandawas. In the end both Suyudana and Sangkuni meet a terrible fate.

Towards the end of the Great War, Suyudana meditates in silence in his solitary tent over the bloody events of the past few days: "what is the use of further bloodshed", he muses, "only a handful of my faithful allies remains alive. Why not surrender?" But he is a Satrya, he cannot surrender, he must fight till the end. Since hundreds and thousands have died for him, now it is his turn to die for them. And he prepares for battle. On the day when Bima calls him for single combat, he is ready. Both armies watch in silence as the two are locked in equal fight. Bima is more powerful, Suyudana more deft and cunning. Suyudana dies of a broken thigh. The lakon pertaining to Suyudana's death speaks of the utter desolation and misery which prevailed in Java after the destruction of the mighty kingdom of Astina and all its rulers. In the past,

Funding by IKS-MoE

owing to the deep tragedy involved in it, this lakon was considered unlucky and very rarely performed. Of late, it has been revived, because the struggle with the colonialists has shown that war cannot be postponed. Life and the times have their own urgency and if a war is necessary, it has to be fought whatever the consequences.

Yudistira. The Javanese call him Puntadewa. He is the eldest Pandawa and is also known as Dharmaputra (the son of god Dharma). He is known for his absolute tranquillity of mind, truthfulness and integrity. He is modest and sober and hates violence. His gentle, upright and quiet-spoken nature is reflected in his medium-sized puppet which is only 17 inches high. He wears no arm-bands or bracelets. The angle of his nose is in perfect line with his lowered forehead indicating his noble birth and bearing. The higher the head of a puppet is held, the more brutal type is indicated. Yudistira's hair is rolled up in a simple bun, in marked contrast to the elaborate hair-dos of his brothers known as supiturang style.

The Javanese relate the following story about Puntadewa. Once Batara Guru objected to his being called Dewa. Challenging this Puntadewa changed himself into a giant named Dewa Amral and attacked heaven. Seeing this, Kresna also took the form of a giant and reached heaven. He calmed Dewa Amral and persuaded him to return to his original form of Puntadewa. In this way even Batara Guru had to learn the lesson that others also, besides himself, have a right to be called Dewa and that he cannot arbitrarily change people's names. Yudistira's piety does not allow him to achieve great and noble deeds, though he is not inferior to others in valour. Virtue-wise he is high above the common man. This is symbolized by his white blood. He is not as popular as his younger brothers Bima and Arjuna, yet he is held in high respect and esteem.

Nakula and Sadewa. The youngest Pandawas are the twin sons of Madri, sister of Salya. The Javanese call them Pintan and Tangsen respectively. They are always ready to do the bidding of their elder brothers and play a significant role in the death of Salya. Salya possessed the weapon Aji Candabhairava and with this he was found to be almost invincible in battle. Arjuna, therefore sent Nakula and Sadewa to Salya's camp at night with the mission to wheedle out from him the secret of his death. Salya revealed it to his nephews in a moment of weakness knowing that he was helping the wrong side. Next day Yudistira was asked by Kresna to go and fight Salya. He was hesitant; then

Kresna persuaded him saying you do not have to lift your weapon against your uncle. Just let your chariot collide against Salya's and the rest will be done by the curse of Bagaspati. And this is exactly what happened.

Batara Kresna. He is the scion of the Yadava race and ruler of the kingdom of Dwarawati. As a young boy he is known as Narayana. Even today when the Javanese converse amongst themselves they say 'When I was a Narayana' meaning 'when I was a boy'. Narayana is the incarnation of Viṣṇu. When grown up Kresna dresses like a ruling king and wears a backwig and a crown. The profile of his nose shows his noble bearing, and the more elevated position of his head indicates his self esteem and power. His eyes are fixed upon the tip of his nose (*nāsāgradṛiṣṭi*) as the sign of utmost spiritual power and control. He is related to the Pandawas through their mother Kunti who is descended from the Yadava race. Kresna is the mentor and adviser of the Pandawas, who trust him completely and rely on him for all kinds of advice. In this sense he may be called the dalang of the Pandawas. The lakons describe him as one who knows the future of the whole world, one whose advice is carefully followed. In several lakons like the Tugu Wasesa and Raden Werkudara, Kresna is shown in the opening scene with his full royal regalia taking major state decisions. Kresna is a politician par excellence whose chief weapon in achieving his objective are his accurate foresight and superior skill in statecraft. He never indulges in low underhand tactics. In Indonesia he is much revered as the 'Preacher of the Gita' (Gita Upadesa) where he is shown giving advice to Arjuna, is the subject of some of the finest wood-carvings, batik paintings and stone and wooden sculptures in Indonesia. In the lakon Wahju Purba Sejati he has many names. "Kresna the black, whose skin, blood and bones are black as the colour of ebony. Many are his titles: Guardian of the Pandawas, Bridge between man and God, Giver of life, Kresna the charitable, Kresna the seer, Deterrent to disaster, Incarnation of Wisnu." The dalang explains that Kresna and Arjuna both are incarnations of Wisnu. "As a flower and its scent, or a fire and its flame, the flower is Kresna, the scent Arjuna, the fire is Kresna, the flame Arjuna. Like the front and back sides of a leaf their appearance is different, their taste the same". (Brandon's translation of the Javanese text).

Karna. Born to Kunti, before her marriage to Pandu, with the intervention of Batara Surya, Karna was known in childhood as Suryatmaja. Abandoned by his mother he was reared by a humble charioteer. When he was made king of Anga by Suyudana, he was known as Adipati Basukarna.

Funding by IKS-MoE

The character of Karna in Java has acquired a number of weaknesses. He is quick-tempered, cynical and arrogant. He does not hesitate to insult his father-in-law Salya by ordering him to act as his charioteer. The puppet shows his tilted nose expressing haughtiness and arrogance. Compared to him Arjuna's face is more polite. In the Mahābhārata Karna was born with his protective armour and ear-ornaments (*kavaca-kuṇḍala*). He has to part with these at the request of Indra, Arjuna's father. To compensate this loss, his father Batara Surya gives him the weapon Kunta which can be used only once. He impetuously uses this weapon against Gatutkaca thereby losing the chance of killing Arjuna. According to Javanese sources the Sanskrit words *kavaca* armour and *utkaca* of Ghatotkaca got confused and Gatutkaca's name was taken to mean a warrior covered by an armour with its head shaped like a *ghaṭa* 'pot'. This is the origin of the shining golden armour worn on his chest by Gatutkaca in wayang.

The set of wayang puppets at Cheribon (which is the oldest puppet set in the country) shows Karna with a halo round his head; this is to signify his divine origin and blameless character. The earlier scholars and artists were much closer to the Indian originals of the characters and were faithful to those ideas. In their works Karna appears a brave and less blameworthy person. Mangunegara in his poem *Dwija Ishwara* describes Karna thus:

"There is one other (hero) who should be held as an example,
The son of Surya, ruler of Ngawangga (Anga),
Although the Pendawa's own brother
(with different father yet the same mother)
He served the Lord Kurupati
In the city of Ngastina
And became his champion.
Commander of armies,
In the Bratayuda war he was made battle-chief
Over all the Kurawa.
Sent out against his own brother
He fought in single combat with Lord Dananjaya (Arjuna)
Yet the Lord Karna's heart was glad
Because he had found a way
To requite the love of king Duryudana
Therefore he now exerted to the utmost
All his soldier's skill and courage

Funding by IKS-MoE

In the heat of battle Karna died struck by an arrow
Renowned a matchless warrior." (Anderson's translation)

In the lakon Karna Tanding 'The Death of Karna', after Arjuna has severed Karna's throat with his arrow pasupati, the dalang sings dolefully,

Oh look
And have pity,
A thousand sorrows
Ooooo oo ......
All nature weeps
Rain washing
The blood from his wounds.

And then a voice rises from the background. It is the voice of the departed Karna: "Dear brother Arjuna, come embrace me before I die. You know, do you not, that though my duty lay with the Kurawas, my love was for you and the Pandawa brothers. Come near me, witness the departure of my soul. Hold me close to you, my dear brother !"

The scene ends with Arjuna entering from the right and moving slowly toward Karna. Kresna enters behind Arjuna. (Brandon's translation)

Ekalawya or Palgunadi. Ekalawya is the celebrated student of archery whom Durno refused to instruct because he feared that he would either equal or outshine his favourite pupil Arjuna. The reason given by Durno for his refusal to teach Ekalawya was that he did not belong to the Satraya class. Anyone who was not a satraya was not entitled to learn the art of war. Undaunted by this rebuff, Ekalawya put up a mud statue of Guru Durno in the forest and practised archery in front of it. In course of time he mastered the art. When Durno heard of this he asked Ekalawya to sever his right thumb and give it to him as tutor's fee (*gurudakṣiṇā*). Ekalawya obeyed the command, at the same time he cursed Durno saying: "Just as you have taken my thumb wrongfully, so also your head will be severed by deceit !" In the Javanese Bratayuda Drestadyumna cuts off Durno's head in battle. Drestadyumna, son of Drupada was the incarnation of Ekalawya.

Srikandi. Bhisma the grandson of the Kurawas and Pandawas had forcibly abducted the three daughters of the king of Kashi. He gave the two younger ones in marriage to his step-brother Vicitravirya. The eldest Amba stayed in the palace of Astina and fell in love with Bhisma. She wanted to marry him and with this intention made advances towards him. Bhisma did not like this

Funding by IKS-MoE

as he was bound by his vow of life-long celibacy. He therefore cursed her and she in turn swore revenge on him. In the Javanese wayang she is born as Srikandi, *son* of Drupada king of Cempala. Somehow Srikandi is changed into a woman and becomes the second wife of Arjuna. (In the Indian Mahābhārata she is Śikhandin a person who is neither man nor woman.) As the wife of Arjuna she asks him how to shoot bow and arrow. *Srikandi Maguru Manaha* 'Arjuna teaching Srikandi' is a famous Javanese painting. Srikandi was so brave and warlike that even before her marriage to Arjuna, she had given a swayamwara for herself in which she had declared that she would marry anyone who could defeat her in battle.

According to the lakon 'Srikandi Larasati', when Arjuna wanted to take a third wife Larasati, who was actually a commoner, Srikandi challenged her to a fight having promised Arjuna that she would let him marry the new girl, if she could defeat her. But in her heart of hearts she knew that whether she wins or loses, Arjuna will have his way and marry Larasati. This provides a moment of high drama in modern wayang where Srikandi a princess has to lose to a commoner knowing she could win, and Larasati wins knowing that she was fighting a superior person where in the ordinary course she would have to lose. Thus both of them unite in singing:

There is no winner in this contest, but
We both will have to win
In order to serve the same master !

In the end Larasati asks Srikandi's pardon that being low-born she had to defeat her who was a princess. This is a rare Javanese spectacle where two women warriors are shown fighting. They sometimes omit the song, which in fact should always be there because it explains the significance of the fight.

Srikandi kills Bhisma in the Great War and wins for herself the title of a militant woman in a good sense. The girl volunteers who were sent to fight in Malaysia during the war of Independence were called 'Srikandi' !

Arjuna. Arjuna is the favourite hero of the Javanese. He is the special creation of the Indonesian mind. Matchless warrior on the battlefield, he possesses the delicate beauty of a handsome woman. In complete contrast to his brother Bima, who symbolizes power in giant proportions, Arjuna is power compressed, sleek and swift like a tiger. If Bima is the veritable thunderstorm, Arjuna is the enchanting shaft of deadly lightening of iron will and tender heart. He is the idol of the fair sex. And yet he has the will-power and stamina

Funding by IKS-MoE

to engage in the most difficult austerities and *tapas* and win the favour of gods and men alike. His deep sense of family loyalty permits him to kill his cousins, friends and uncles ranged on the opposite side. The irony of fate and the common destiny of the Kurawas and Pandawas make him fight his own half-brother Karna. Appreciating his skill as a satrya hero, the Javanese take immense delight in all his love-affairs which are treated in such a matter-of-fact manner in the Indian Mahābhārata. In a whole series of lakons many unknown sons and daughters come and see him from distant places where he had established marital relations.

As an adolescent Arjuna is known as Raden Pamadi. His puppet profile is the ideal of beauty. The almond-shaped eye indicates his noble birth, his slightly bowed head characterizes his modesty and refinement. Though possessed of great physical beauty, Arjuna does not wear any ornaments except a simple ring on each hand. This indicates his inner peace and non-attachment to worldly goods. In the lakons he is referred to as the one whose beauty is unparalleled on earth. Invested with supernatural powers, he can achieve the impossible. Reserved of demeanour, his cool skill in battle gives him the titles 'Invincible Warrior', 'Star among the Excellent'.

In the 12th century Arjuna-wiwaha became a complete and independent Kakawin in Kediri (East Java.) The kingdom of gods was disturbed by the giant called Niwatakawaca. He wanted to marry Suprabha, the most beautiful heavenly nymph. The gods did not approve of this, so they approached Batara Guru. Lord Siva told them that Arjuna is performing *tapas* these days on mount Kailasa. He will be able to defeat Niwatakawaca. During the period of his *tapas* Arjuna is known as Bagawan Mintaraga (Vītarāga 'one who has conquered bodily desire'). His wayang puppet is shown in a meditating posture with very long flowing hair like that of a Risi.

Thus told by Siva the gods send a bevy of nine exquisitely beautiful nymphs under the leadership of Suprabha to go and tempt Arjuna. Arjuna remains calm and firm in their presence. The nymphs return to heaven and report. Then Batara Guru himself decides to come down on earth and test him. But before he does so, he sends the sūkara (wild boar) and later comes himself in the guise of a hunter. Both Arjuna and the hunter shoot the boar simultaneously with their respective arrows. A fight ensues in which Arjuna though defeating his adversary is not able to subdue him. Siva reveals himself and being pleased with Arjuna gives him the weapon Pasupati, with which he later kills Karna. Siva also advises him to hide himself inside the hair of Su-

Funding by IKS-MoE

prabha and orders the latter to make love to Niwatakawaca in order to extract from him the secret of his life. All this is done and Arjuna is able to kill Niwatakawaca. As a reward Batara Guru permits Arjuna to marry Suprabha, who in the bargain, makes love for a time to all the nine nymphs who had come earlier to attract him.

The Kakawin Arjuna-wiwaha was composed by Mpu Kanwa, the court-poet of Airlangga, to celebrate the marriage of the king of Kediri (one of Airlangga's sons) who was compared to Arjuna. It is one of the finest kakawins full of eroticism and romantic scenes lyrically enacted by the nymphs. As a result of this poem, for centuries the Javanese have regarded Arjuna as their ethical hero. Airlangga ruled in Java from 1010 to 1049 A.D. He was one of the greatest kings of Java and a great patron of art and culture. He was the son of the Javanese princess Mahendradatta and Udayana, prince of Bali. In his later life Airlangga became a monk and styled himself as a reincarnation of Wisnu (1042 A.D.) The Kakawin Arjuna-wiwaha was based on Bhāravi's famous classical-poem Kirātārjunīya written in 550 A.D., but it does not follow it closely. The story as depicted in Arjuna-wiwaha is entirely Indonesian in character.

Baladewa. Baladewa is Kresna's elder brother and king of Mandura (Madura island). He is also known as Haladhara or Wasi Jaladhara. As a young boy he was known as Kakrasana. In contrast to his younger brother, Baladewa is hot-tempered and quick to draw his dagger, but he is not evil-minded. Strangely the Madurese of Madura island have the same character today. They are hot-tempered and easily provoked. The Indonesians have used Baladewa as the balancing factor for Kresna on the Kurawa side. He always speaks up for the Kurawas and sides with them knowing that they are wrong. However he never gives them wrong advice. Baladewa possesses a terrible weapon nangala. It is comparable to vajra or lightening and has the power to destroy everything. The Kurawas know this and want to keep him on their side for this reason. Kresna knew that in the Great War, if Baladewa will side with the Kurawas then the Pandawas will not be able to win. He therefore called Baladewa and told him to go and sleep for a number of years. He was to wake up only at Kresna's bidding. This was supposed to be a kind of *tapas* which he would do for the victory of the Kurawas. Baladewa agreed and began to do *tapas* at Grojagan Sewu 'Thousand Waterfalls'. He slept through the number of days during which the battle was raging. In the end when he woke up the battle was already over. Kresna and the Yadavas were dead and the Pandawas had achieved moksa 'liberation'. Then Baladewa was asked to take upon himself the task of guarding and bringing up the infant Parikesit. Since Parikesit is the progenitor of the long line of the rulers of Java, Baladewa is looked upon with gratefulness.

Dewi Drupadi. For an Indian reader the absence of Draupadī, elder daughter of king Drupada and the wife of the five Pandawas, from several important wayang lakons is significant. In the Mahābhārata Draupadī is the central figure throughout. Though Arjuna wins her hand in the swayamwara, she becomes the wife of all five brothers owing to a misunderstanding on the part of their mother Kunti. Kresna treats her as his beloved sister and comes to her aid on many occasions. The Kauravas especially Duryodhana harboured resentment against her firstly because they failed to win her at the time of the swayamwara. Later when she laughed at them and called them names on one or two occasions, they did not forgive her. The kakawin Bharatayuddha faithfully records Vyāsa's version of the birth of Dewi Drupadi and her marriage to the five Pandavas. From her five husbands she gave birth to five sons who were all killed in battle. The Bharatayuddha also records that Yudistira lost the game of dice and Dewi Drupadi was dragged in the Kurawa assembly like an animal. However, the Indonesian ethos could not popularize the image of a woman with five husbands on the wayang stage. In wayang Drupadi is the wife of the single Pandawa Yudistira and plays a restricted role.

The Rama Lakons and Ramayana Kakawin. The Ramayana Kakawin of Yogiswara, which is the source book of the wayang lakons dealing with the story of Rama, is the oldest Javanese work written in the Kawi language. It has 26 sargas or cantos written in chaste flowing style using original Sanskrit metres and figures of speech. The resonance of Kawi, its rich imagery and captivating rhythm point to the extraordinary degree of mastery which the poet had achieved over the Sanskrit language. The models for Yogiswara's work were the Rāmavivāha and the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya. Yogiswara took Bhaṭṭī as his mentor because both were ardent devotees of Siva. The last one-third of Yogiswara's work is the independent creation of the poet, as such it is the true product of the Indonesian mind. The Dutch professor Hooykaas has made a detailed comparative study of the Ramayana Kakawin and Bhaṭṭī. Bhaṭṭī was using the Rāmāyaṇa story to illustrate the rules of grammar to make them more interesting for students. For the greater part of his work he had used the narrative anuṣṭubh metre which can be easily committed to memory. Yogiswara has typified the Indonesians' great love for music by using 81 different metres in his work.

Inspite of the strict adherence to the Rama story as described by Vālmīki, the Ramayana Kakawin contains several deviations. These pertain to form and content, character and incident necessitated by local circumstances. The hero is not Rama but Hanoman. The educated people consider Rama to be their Hero, but the ideal for the majority of the common people is the brave Hanoman who carries out all tasks for his master. Is it not true that Rama could not achieve anything before he met Hanoman ? In the Balinese Ramayana Rama is played by a female dancer to bring out his more gentle, thoughtful and compassionate nature. In wayang kulit the story opens with the description of the kingdom of Kosala where the rule of gatong royong 'mutual help' prevails. Ayodya is the capital of Kosala. Dasarata is in his nineties; though wishing to reign longer, he decides to retire since his body has become very weak. Dasarata has only two wives, Dewi Raguwati the mother of Rama and Lesmana and Dewi Kekayi the mother of Barata. Barata is present in Ayodya at the time of Rama's banishment. Kekayi did not consult her son before she asked his father to make him king. Had she done so the course of events would be different. Barata does not want his brother to go into exile. He follows him into the forest to persuade him to return. But Rama, Lesmana and Sita disappear from the tent when Barata is sleeping. Returning to Ayodya, Barata puts Rama's sword upon the empty throne as a symbol of the authority of the rightful ruler.

The scene of the enchanted golden deer has been made much more acceptable. In the forest Rama gives a rabbit and a wild duck to Sita to while away her time. He brings her the prettiest flowers that he is able to collect. Lesmana gives her a young monkey which he found neglected by its parents. Rama brought her a peacock. In course of time the collection of birds and animals became a small zoo. Thus 13 years passed, when Rawana also known as Dasamuka discovered them: "With his ten frightful faces he looked like a bad Durian (an evil-smelling Malayo-Indonesian fruit which is rough and thorny from the outside like the Indian jackfruit) rough without and rotten within". Marica spends his time in prayer and meditation. Rawana forces him on the point of the sword, to change himself into the golden deer and entice Sita. Marica becomes a female golden deer. Sita when she saw it "Tears appeared in her eyes at such a display of elegance." She wanted to take it back to

Ayodya and keep it in her garden. Left alone Sita and Lesmana prayed to god 'Sang Hyang Wenang'. When Marica's fake voice was heard, Lesmana was unwilling to go after Rama leaving Sita alone in the cottage. Sita then said contemptuously: "I know Lesmana, what it is, you are afraid to go. Aren't you ?" Lesmana could not tolerate this accusation and he went forthwith in search of Rama. Before leaving he promised that he would never marry, perhaps knowing what a terrible fate awaited Sita because of her foolhardiness. In the Javanese Ramayana Laksmana remains unmarried throughout.

The scene of Sita's abduction by Rawana is beautifully described by Sunardjo Haditjaroko. "All at once a blast of wind came to shake the hut. The sky which a moment before had been clear and bright, quickly became dark and gray. Lightening flashed at short intervals; big drops of rain began to fall. And through the openings of the roof Sita noticed how unnaturally bright the lightening was. There was something mysterious about it." Rawana came as an old man with a bent back leaning on a rough wooden stick. He wanted shelter during the rain. According to the instructions of Lesmana, Sita did not leave the hut, but she invited the old man inside. When she saw the real form of Rawana she fainted. Regaining consciousness she found herself being carried away through the air at great speed". Jatayu was a friend of Dasarata and at the time of Sita's abduction he did not know that Dasarata was dead. Sugriwa and Subali live on the mountain Reksamuka (Ṛiṣyamūka). They fight for the kingdom. Subali has white blood in his veins, so he is able to survive the deadliest wounds. Rama kills him with a poisoned arrow. Hanoman and Hangada both volunteer to go to Alengka. Both engage in a duel in order to determine as to who will go. Hanoman wins and crosses over to Alengka.

Kataksini (Wikataksini), a giant of formidable dimensions is Alengka's guardian. She can swallow several whales at a time with her large mouth. Her body remains submerged in water, with only her eyes and part of the head showing. She never sleeps. Kataksini had swallowed Hanoman, but Hanoman expanded his body to greater proportions and came out ripping open the giant's stomach. Pleased with him Rama gave him the title of his son *Ramadayapati*. Later he was known as *Kapiwara* 'the excellent monkey'. Hanoman is the symbol of hope in Indonesia. He is also known as *Suksma Putih* 'The White Spirit' which helps people when they are in deep trouble. The Samudrasetu (causeway) was built with the joint bodies of all the apes and monkies. This was Gotong ryong: "Countless drops of water together made the mighty ocean, similarly the hundreds of apes' bodies built the causeway." At the time of Hanoman's visit

Funding by IKS-MoE

to Alengka, Rawana's brothers Wibisana and Kumbakarna strongly advised him to return Sita and release the White Ape. Rawana refused to do this; he was so incensed that he slapped Wibisana in the presence of all his ministers. Wibisana joined Rama's camp. Kumbakarna retired to a high mountain and engaged himself in deep meditation. When the war with Rama began and Sarpakenaka (Śūrpaṇakhā, Rawana's sister) and the loyal general Prahasta had fallen, Dasamuka sent for Kumbakarna. But the giant hero was so deeply sunk in meditation that it was impossible to awaken him, even though huge chariots were driven across his colossal frame. Finally Indrajit (Rawana's son) succeeded in arousing him. Kumbakarna then rose and dressed himself *all in white* (in preparation of the certain death which awaited him) and went to the battle-field. A violent struggle took place in which Lesmana was able to kill him. When Kumbakarna fell to the ground it was like the falling of the Mahameru from heaven to earth. The wayang puppet of Kumbakarna is very tall, 33½ inches high. He has a red face and two tusks. Kumbakarna is very much respected as a model soldier and example of utter loyalty to his king and country willingly going to fight in a wrongful battle on his behalf, fully knowing that certain death awaits him.

Much in the same way the wayang prefers the character of Trijata (Wibisana's daughter) to that of Sita. Sita characterizes hopelessness. In Rawana's prison she loses hope and prepares to die. It is Trijata who gives her hope and encourages her to live pointing out that Rama is the symbol of good and he will surely triumph over the evil designs of Rawana. She also helps Hanoman to meet Sita and give her the message of Rama. The scene where Hanoman returns after meeting Sita in Rawana's pleasure garden and delivers to Rama Sita's letter is most poignant and moving: *ati-tuṣṭa Baṭāra Rāma yar tona ikanaṅ surata Narendraputrī* "Batara Rama was very happy and satisfied to see the letter of the Royal Princess". He took the letter, opened and read it. Overcome with emotion at Sita's words of love and fidelity, he felt very weak and fainted. Then remembering his love for her he wept shedding bitter tears, so much so that the writing on the letter was washed away. Realizing that the letter was spoilt and cannot be read any more, Rama became even sadder. This is desolation of a loving heart at its worst.

At the time of Rawana's death, Hanoman had covered his headless body with a huge mountain-top. Yet Rawana was so strong that inspite of being dead he could not die. Till today his angry body stirs and breathes forth fire from within the mountain-top shaking the earth around. Rama has the wijaya-

Funding by IKS-MoE

kusuma 'the flower of Wisnu' with him which he wears in his crown. With the touch of this flower he brought back Lesmana to life when he fell at the hands of Indrajit. In wayang plays of the Bratayuda the wijayakusuma is transferred to Kresna. Another significant change is that Sita's fidelity is never suspected by Rama. Rama and Sita when they return to Ayodya after their exile, the people doubt Sita's purity. It is then that she undergoes the fire-ordeal and proves her innocence. The incident of her banishment does not occur in Ramayana Kakawin.

The more popular lakons give this story of Rawana's enmity with Dasarata and his family. Twice the two kings had been rivals in love, once for Dewi Raguwati and then again for Dewi Kekayi. On both occasions Dasarata had prevailed less through valour and more through cunning and the favour of gods. Disappointed Dasamuka swore revenge. While he was away, his wife Mando gave birth to a daughter in Alengka. Wibisana took the child away, put her in a casket and set her afloat on a big river running down to the sea. The floating casket found its way to the kingdom of Mantili (Mithilā) where king Janoko found the baby and brought her up. This was Dewi Sita. To prevent Dasamuka from knowing what had happened, Wibisana created a boy out of a dark mass of cloud, called him Meganand (one who roars like a cloud) or Indrajit and presented him to Dasamuka as his son. In the battle, Wibisana who had created Indrajit, tells the secret of his life to Lesmana who kills him. Along with Indrajit, his seven wives also went to the battlefield and perished with him. According to Hooykaas seven sisters belonging to the same husband is a well-known motif in Malayo-Indonesian folk-tales 'Hikayat Malan Daman'. The Ramayana story is well-known over the Malayan Peninsula and neighbouring islands. It is considered the book of life which should be taught to every child preparing him for his mental and spiritual life lying ahead of him.

Hanuman-duta. While in Jakarta, this writer had the good fortune to be invited to a very special wayang performance of the Hanuman-duta, dealing with the adventures of Hanuman when he goes in search of Sita. After the singing of the Suluk Glakong the play opens with Sri Rama and king Sugriwa sitting in the court of Kiskinda. They are discussing plans to send a suitable messenger in search of Sita. Sugriwa naturally puts forward Angada, the son of his sister-in-law Tara (with whom he is in love) from Narada. Angada says he can reach Lanka in one year. Hanuman comes forward to say he can go there within a day. In this lakon Hanuman is known as Sangono. Semar appears, his father is the universe and his mother is the Lady Moon. Semar's lanky son Petrok begins to argue with Sangon: "How can you go there in one day !" he says, "Why, I had gone there the other day and it took me one whole month !" "And pray how did you go there ?" asks Sangon. "Well, I walked all the way and when the sea came......" he begins to stutter. "Shut up you fool !" roars Sangon, "Don't you know I will fly there !" This becomes a point of great amusement for the audience. Angada who had been watching this episode from a distance comes forward and fights with Sangon. The wise Semar acts as mediator and separates the two. The gunungan which is the symbol of the kalpataru 'wish-fulfilling tree' comes forward now to mark the end of the scene. The whole universe and its development from a seed was depicted most artistically in the gunungan. The three worlds Triloka were there. At the bottom was the world of Durga, inhabited by fish and other lower animals. Above was the world where the tiger roams and on top was the world of the highest forms of life.

In the third part of the show, Hanoman is seen flying over the ocean. On the way he fights with Kataksini the sea-giant. Kataksini's puppet has a beautiful mane of a sea horse. Having killed Kataksini, Hanoman proceeds to Lanka and the story progresses according to the well-known sequence. Towards the end Sita and Trijata appear in Rawana's prison-garden. Enters Dasamuka, he tries to molest Sita not knowing that she is his own daughter born in his absence. Hanuman appears, there are vigorous battle scenes between him and the guards, accompanied with energetic music. Indrajit appears, a terrible battle ensues in which Hanuman is bound and captured alive. He is produced before Rawana, who orders that his tail be wrapped in cloth, soaked in oil and set on fire. Hanuman brandishes his burning tail and burns a great part of Lanka. The gunungan here represented the burning trees and the whole sequence was superbly acted. All sense of time was lost and one had no idea that one was witnessing lifeless leather puppets dancing in the dalang's hands. For all of us, it was a real show and we were ourselves participating in the feats of our familiar ancestors.

Wayang as education. Great educative value is attached to dance and music which are essential parts of wayang. It teaches balance and poise, harmony of body and mind and creates self-confidence. For boys it is a lesson in chivalry and bravery. A ksatriya will never attack an enemy from behind. An enemy fallen, cannot be mocked, kicked or scolded. Women are to be respected. There have been brave women like Srikandi, Larasati, Mustokoweni. Great care is

Funding by IKS-MoE

taken of the gamelan (*gamel* 'hammer') musical instruments. Two very important gamelan sets are preserved, gamelan Sekati and Nagawilaga. These instruments are as old as 1555 A.D. and are of great historical and cultural value. Preserved in the kratons of Yogyakarta, they are ceremoniously brought out and played for a week. Gamelan Nagawilaga is the putra (son) of gamelan Sekati. When any one of them is playing, all other gamelans must stop. Investing musical instruments with personality and treating them like living beings teaches the young to have respect and care for all things of cultural value. In course of time this is the best way of preserving a country's culture and creating cultured individuals.

Culture is not Religion. In 1927 Rabindranath Tagore visited Indonesia. Witnessing a wayang performance he remarked that the Javanese had shown greater talent and initiative in presenting the Indian epics on stage. The Indonesians were able to do this because they did not confuse religion with culture. "A people is characterized by its culture", they said, and for them culture was a synthesis of "Dynamism and Hinduism". We in India have encased our classic epic characters in an aura of godliness and religiosity and have virtually entombed them in stone-temples. While our Indonesian brothers have kept them active and alive in the constantly moving, growing and changing shadows of the wayang puppets. A very good example of this is *Wayang Panchasila.* Indonesia was perhaps the first country to throw off the yoke of colonialism and become free in 1945, without any strings attached or losing any part of her territory. Gradually as more and more Asian and African countries gained independence, President Sukarno called a conference of Asian leaders at Bandung to discuss the new problems facing the young states. *Wayang Panchasila* was created to give life and reality to the five principles of co-existence. The five Pandawa heroes of wayang purwa were entrusted with the care of the five principles in this order: Yudistira - faith in God, Arjuna - national consciousness, Nakula - democracy, Sadewa - social justice and Bima - humanity. The Wayang Panchasila puppets were realistic figures of the leaders of the newly free nations like Sukarno, Nehru, Nasser, Chou-en-lai and the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and Pakistan. In form and technique, Wayang Panchasila faithfully adhered to the purwa plays.

Bali. Owing to its special position geographically and historically Bali, known to its people as Pusera Dewata 'The Island of Gods' deserves special and separate mention. Set like an enormous emerald in the blue ocean stretching over an

Funding by IKS-MoE

area of 2100 sq. km. Bali is a veritables paradise on earth. The first aerial view of the island, its blue-green coast line marked by rich coconut-palms, at once brings to mind the lines of Kālidāsa:

> *dūrād ayaścakranibhasya tanvī tamālatālīvanarājinīlā |*
> *vibhāti velā lavaṇāmburāśer dhārā nibaddheva kalaṅkarekhā ||*
> Raghuvaṁśa 13.15

"The sea a blue-steel disc and the tamāla trees surrounding it, as if dark mud clinging to the edges." Bali has been the store house of Indian culture and Hindu dharma from the earliest times. Hindu dharma (as the Balinese prefer to call it) came to Bali long before the Christian era, almost simultaneously as it arose in India. Bali is the easternmost frontier of the legendary kingdom of Raja Balī, which was occupied by Viṣṇu when he placed his third step (Trivikrama) on it in his dwarf (Vāmana) incarnation. Later the sages Mārkaṇḍeya, Agastya and others are supposed to have crossed over and carried the Vedic and Upaniṣadic lore to these godly people, who have cherished it and preserved it upto this day as commanded by their supreme god 'Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa'.

The Vedic religion together with the Trimūrti of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā and Mahāyāna Buddhism were received here and fused into one. For nowhere else the Hindu priests of the Trimūrti and the Buddhist pedanda can be seen presiding together at a religious ceremony. The ritual, dances and tradition, legend and custom reflect this fusion of Hindu Bali culture. Ananda, author of the best known guide book on Bali refers to the island as a 'gigantic temple', where every inch of land is sacred, sanctified ground. Bali is surrounded by a high ridge of coral reef stretching far into the ocean. This has been her protection from the greedy eyes of the Dutch colonialists whose ships could not negotiate her waters. Bali remained independent till 1908 A.D. when the war with the Dutch started and her royal families of Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung along with their women and children sacrificed themselves and totally perished. The Dutch could rule the island for 31 years only (1914-1942) when the Second World War drove them out. This was how this enchanted island was able to preserve and nurture its culture undisturbed by outsiders. A large number of Balinese Puras (temples) are cut out of steep rock; their structure nestling against the mountain-side as a child clings to its mother. These Puras are similar to the rock-cut temples of India. Like Ajanta many of these temples have hermitages attached to them which are valuable repositories of art and religion. Social, religious and cultural life in Bali is planned according to Hindu

Funding by IKS-MoE

ideas as is evident by such Sanskrit terms as, Pura 'temple', desa 'country', paduraksa 'temple gate', padmasana 'lotus seat for a deity', Mahadeva, Meru, Sanggah 'domestic temple', Sri 'goddess of plenty and Viṣṇu's sakti', Pura-segara 'sea-temple' and many many more.

The Balinese temples do not have a roof, nor a stone idol of any god. The gates are split (chandi bentar) in order to give free entry to the spirit of the god invoked. Seats are provided for the gods according to their rank. The pedanda (priest) prepares holy waters of the river Ganga by reciting Vedic and Upaniṣadic mantras. Exquisitely matched and arranged fruit, flower and leaf offerings are made on festival days. All-night wayang shows are performed. Thus the bounties of nature together with the bounties of the spirit, song, dance and drama revolve around the temple. The Balinese caste-system depends on the Triwansa, *Ida* the brahmanas, *cokorda* the ksatriyas and *gusti* the vaisyas. Being not so rigid as in India, all participate freely in religious and community life. Meat is eaten by all and the love for land and animals is great. Cows are not sacred and their milk seldom used. Piercing of ear-lobes, tooth-filing and funeral rites are great ceremonies (known as manusya-yajna) all of which require rich music, song, dance and the gamelan orchestra. The Balinese classic Bima Swarga is read and the Ramayana-wayang shows are performed. Elderly Balinese awaiting the approach of death listen to the Lontar Ramayana from a competent brahmana. Funeral ceremonies take precedence over all for the Hindu-dharma says that the purifying power of Fire and Water and the spoken word (song) and gesture (dance, drama) help the soul to attain Moksa. After elaborate ceremonies and ritual the dead bodies are consigned to flames and the ashes immersed in the sea.

In Bali every village has its own gamelan, club-hall and temple where young men and women gather in the evenings and practise the finer arts of the panca-jnana. They make stone and wood images of Dewi Sri, Singa (lion), Siva and his son Ganesa. Wood carving is entirely inspired by Hindu symbols and the Hindu pantheon. Hindu devotional objects are fashioned out of costly jewels and stones which are appreciated more for their colour and shape than their value in money. The Balinese are strong and vigorous painters. Scenes from the Ramayana and Bratayuda are often painted with a wealth of detail and colour. The wayang wong in Bali is devoted exclusively to the Ramayana sequence. The dances are much more dynamic and the movements though stylized are warm-blooded and full of verve. More than the Javanese the Balinese experience or re-live the role of the epic heroes in their dances and

Funding by IKS-MoE

theatre. In all actuality the epic characters and the gods are their ancestors, whose spirits they feel re-incarnated in their physical bodies everytime they enact that role. Thus the Balinese wayang wong results in a mode of dancing which to the non-initiate would appear a senseless and dead imitation of the puppets. As was the case with Jane Belo the American anthropologist, who is confused in her account of the wayang wong in Bali (Trance in Bali, Columbia University Press, 1960). The extreme concentration of the dancer and the total spiritual identification of himself with the role he was playing lead her to think "As if he were in a trance." As a matter of fact there is a very thin line of demarcation between meditative self-inentification (*samādhi-tādātmya*) and the loss of personality induced by an external agent which is trance. The Balinese have great dramatic talent and in wayang dances their every action is reminiscent of the moving puppet. The stylized gestures, the presentation of the human face and figure in profile, the calm and serene countenance, everything suggests as if the puppet figure had come alive. Yet the most famous and spectacular dance in Bali is the kechak, in which several hundred dancers participate sitting. They enact a scene from the Ramayana where Rawana abducts Sita and Hanuman calls out the monkey army to help Rama fight him. Compared to Javanese art which is more mystic and philosophic as if rising for above the mundane, the art of Bali flows directly from experience, the masks often representing changing moods.

The Beduis of Java: wayang as pure spirit. There are several groups of people in Indonesia, who have retired from the din and noise of city life and for very long periods have been living in remote hilly areas. These are the *Beduis* of South Banten, the *Tengger* of Mount Bromo and the *Baturese* of Mount Batur in Bali. During our stay in Indonesia due to the good offices of Prof. Surya Brata, Director of the School of Indonesian Music (Yayasan Pendidikan Musik Indonesia), we were able to visit one of these groups of mountain-people the Bedui. We had to drive 160 km. from Jakarta in order to reach them.

At a lecture held at the Indian Embassy in Taman Surapati (Jakarta) during our stay there in April 1966, Prof. Brata had explained that music and wayang are practised on three levels in Indonesia. Firstly the village level as seen in the Bedui or the Tengger societies where several thousand people live today in the so-called pre- or proto-Hindu times. These people had an essentially spiritual and religious life and music and dance for them are not entertainment but adjuncts and expressions of real spiritual needs. Secondly the court level, the families and environments (kratons) of the various Sultans as in Yogyakarta, Solo, Cheribon and other places. Wayang and gamelan arts were developed here in a Classic manner as ornaments of culture and were used to invoke the presence and participation of certain gods or spirits on important occasions like childbirth, haircutting (*muṇḍana*), coming of age, marriage and death. Here music and wayang acquired dignity and grace and the ancient epics were associated with the life of the common towns-people who on festivals and other joyous occasions used these performances as a means of social get-togethers and celebrations. Whenever something had to be done, a wayang performance was thought of and the dalang was ever ready to oblige with a fitting story or episode for the occasion. In this way wayang remained an ever-living art going back and forth from village to court, court to town and again back to the village, gaining new lease of life, vigour and freshness, providing an ever-renewing source of spiritual and inner life for the people. In this sense the wayang art was truly national and international both taking into account the fact that the epic stories were freely travelling throughout the countries of the then-known world, i.e. all parts of Asia which today share the Ramayana tradition. One must note that before the recent westernization of these Asian societies under colonial pressure, culture was not compartmentalized in the East. The life-giving waters of aesthetic and emotional experience were constantly being intermingled and interchanged between all the sections of society. In the West life is divided into strict compartments according to material possessions and wealth and the pleasures and joys, hardships and travails of these people never mingle. Whereas the opposite was the case in India and Greater India. The wayang figures were the eternal symbols of the inner life, the more important part of life of the people, and all minds converged on these focal points. The joys and sufferings of the wayang figures became the joys and sufferings of each individual member of the so-called undeveloped or underdeveloped societies. True while caste and social differences based on material possessions tended to divide physically, the unifying experience of the wayang and the artistic and cultural life unified the minds of the people. So that they did not feel the need to revolt against material differences in a violent manner. It is more than obvious today that inspite of great socializing and equalizing movements like socialism and communism, the differences in status, power and material possessions have not been wiped out. Professor Brata born Dutch and settled in Indonesia as an Indonesian citizen since 1949, closed his lecture with the remark: "While the west is pursuing the mirage of communism, equality of material possessions, we in this part

Funding by IKS-MoE

of the world have achieved community of spirit".

When we visited the Bedui, we found that they worshipped the one god Dewa Tunggal, and that they were neither animistic nor primitive. They have a well thought out and perfectly logical philosophy which is the same as Hindu philosophy. The Bedui and Tengger are simple hill-people. They use the gamelan music to make silent conversation to each other across the hill tops. Prof. Brata is engaged day and night in working with young boys and training them as dalangs. His troupe gives the Ramayana in wayang golek technique which is much closer to Vālmīki. He is using the original version of Vālmīki to 'purify' the Ramayana story of the wayang lakon. Thus Sinta will be changed to Sita and Anoman to Hanuman, Alengka to Lanka. The mistaken 13 years of Sita's stay in Rawana's prison will be changed to the correct one year. This process is in perfect accord with the *śarīra-dharma* by which the physical body constantly cleanses and rejuvenates itself.

Conclusion. I would like to conclude this study with the words of the Javanese poet Noto Suroto (1925):

O Lord, let me be a wayang in thy hands.
Whether I be a hero or demon, king or commoner, animal, plant
or tree, let me still be a wayang in thy hands !

And soon thou wilst take me and I shall lie amongst the others
whose plays are over. I shall be amongst the thousands in
the darkness.
Lord, let me be a wayang in thy hands.

Then, after a hundred or thousand years, thy hand will bestow
upon me life and movement once again.
O Lord, let me be a wayang in thy hands.

The great epics and the wayang art which mirrors them — to whom do they belong ? They belong to all those for whom the stars shine and the wind blows and the wide wide earth provides rest and sustenance.*

---

*Most of the material for this study was gathered in Indonesia during 1965-67 with the help and affection of my Indonesian brothers and sisters like Ibu Palwani Tjokrohadidjojo, the late Prof. Suptjipto Wirjosuparto, Ibu Haryati Subadio and Prof. Nusjirawan Tirtaamidjaja and many many others, too numerous to mention to whom I submit heartfelt thanks.

Funding by IKS-MoE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Dursasana (Duḥśāsana). The second Kurawa brother. He always quivers on stage and has a terrible temper.

2. Suyudana (Duryodhana). Eldest Kurawa, also known as Kurupati before he became king of Astina.

3. Werkodara (Bhīma).

4. Sadewa (Sahadeva) or Tangsen.

5. Nakula or Pintan.

6. Yudistira (Yudhiṣṭhira), eldest Pandawa, also known as Puntadeva, Dharmakusuma, Sanyāji.

7. Karna, eldest son of Kunti, born before she was married to Pandu. Also known as Basuka, Basukarna. Before he was crowned king of Anga, he was known as Suryatmaja.

8. Sātyaki or Satyāki. Nephew of Kresna from the Yadava family, later his Prime Minister at Dwarawati.

9. Uddhawa, another minister of Kresna.

10. Matswapati (Matsyarāja), king of Wirata and father of Uttari, wife of Abimanyu.

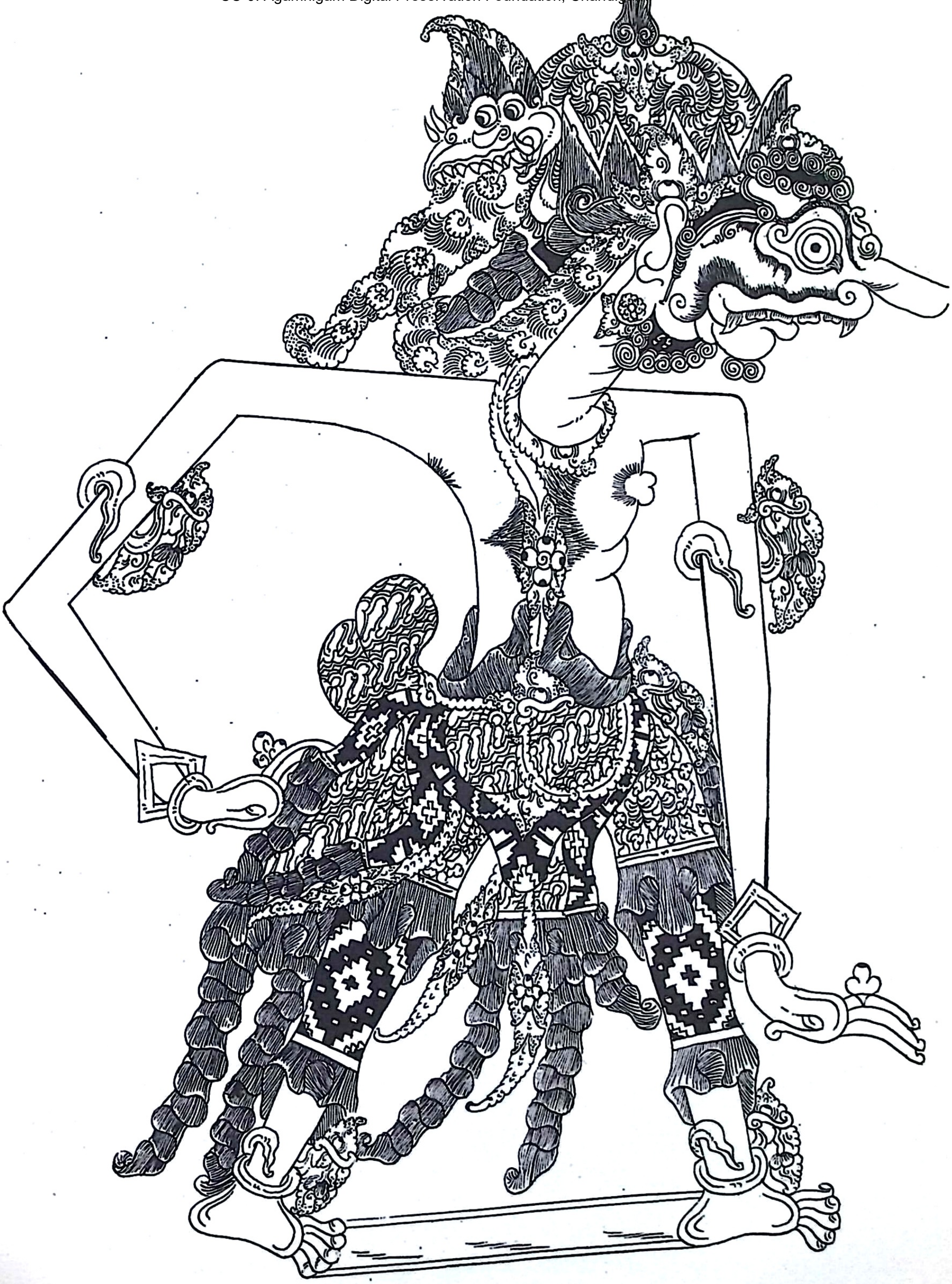
11. Srikandi (Śikhaṇḍī), male-female incarnation of Amba, kills Bhīṣma in the war. Female warrior.

12. Kresna (Kṛiṣṇa). In the wayang Bhima calls him Jliteng. It means "the black one" in low Javanese (*iteng* 'black').

13. Arjuna, also known as Jonoko, was known as Pamade or Parmadi. Sometimes he puts on the ornaments *keyura* and *nupura* when he was hiding as dance-teacher in the kingdom of Matswapati.

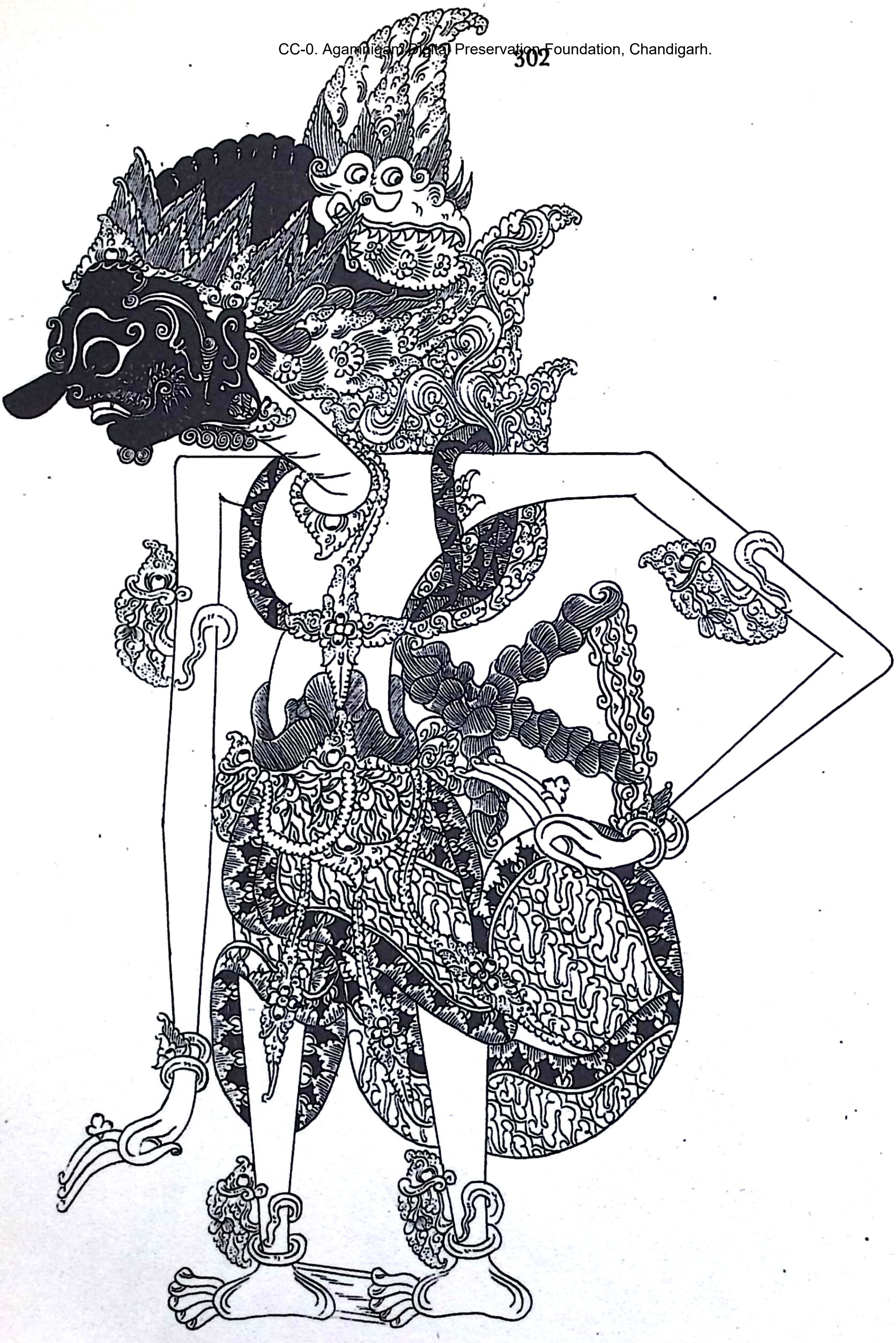
14. Banawati (Bhānumatī), Suyudana's wife.

Funding by IKS-MoE



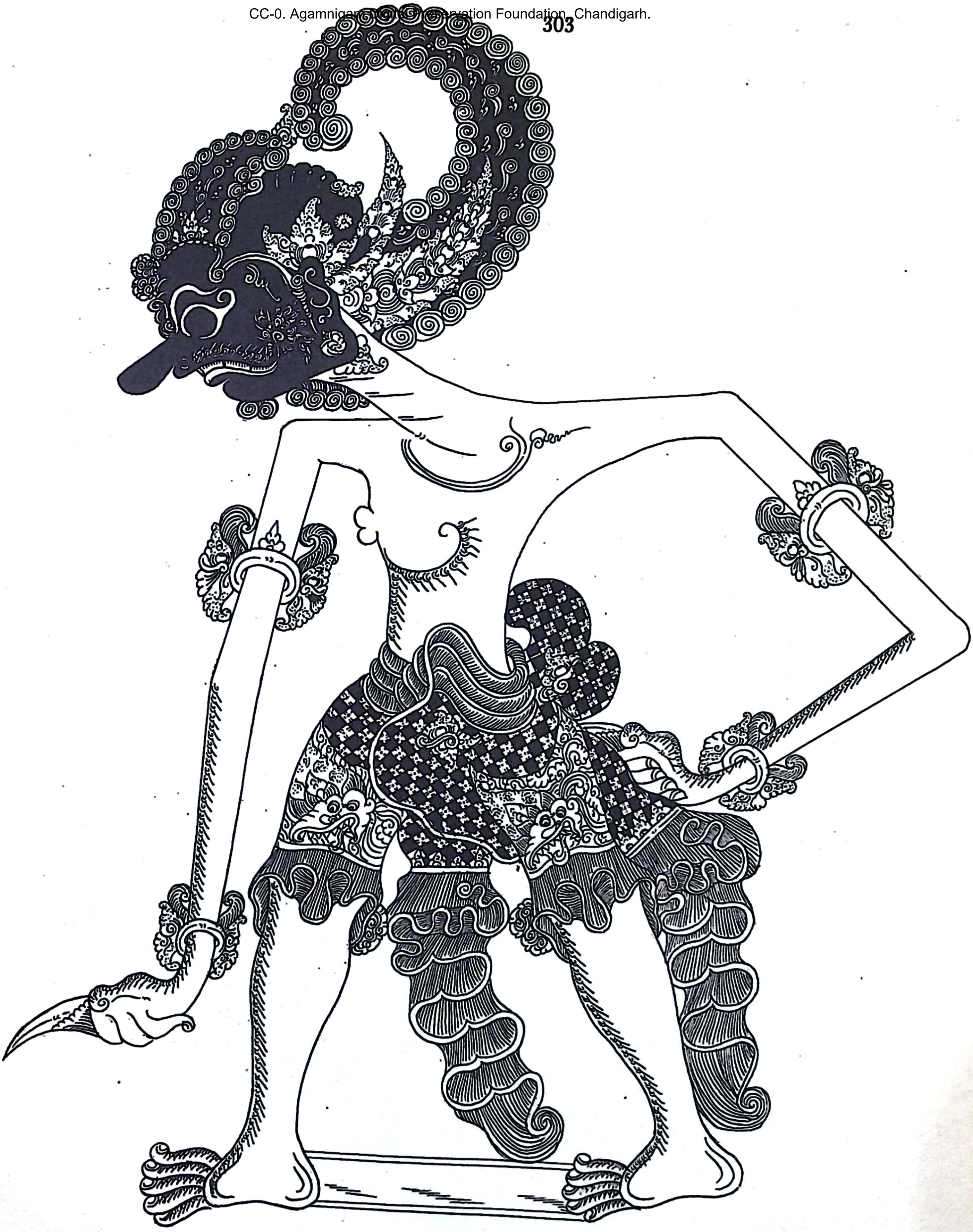
1. Dursasana (Duḥśāsana). The second Kurawa brother. He always quivers on stage and has a terrible temper.

Funding by IKS-MoE



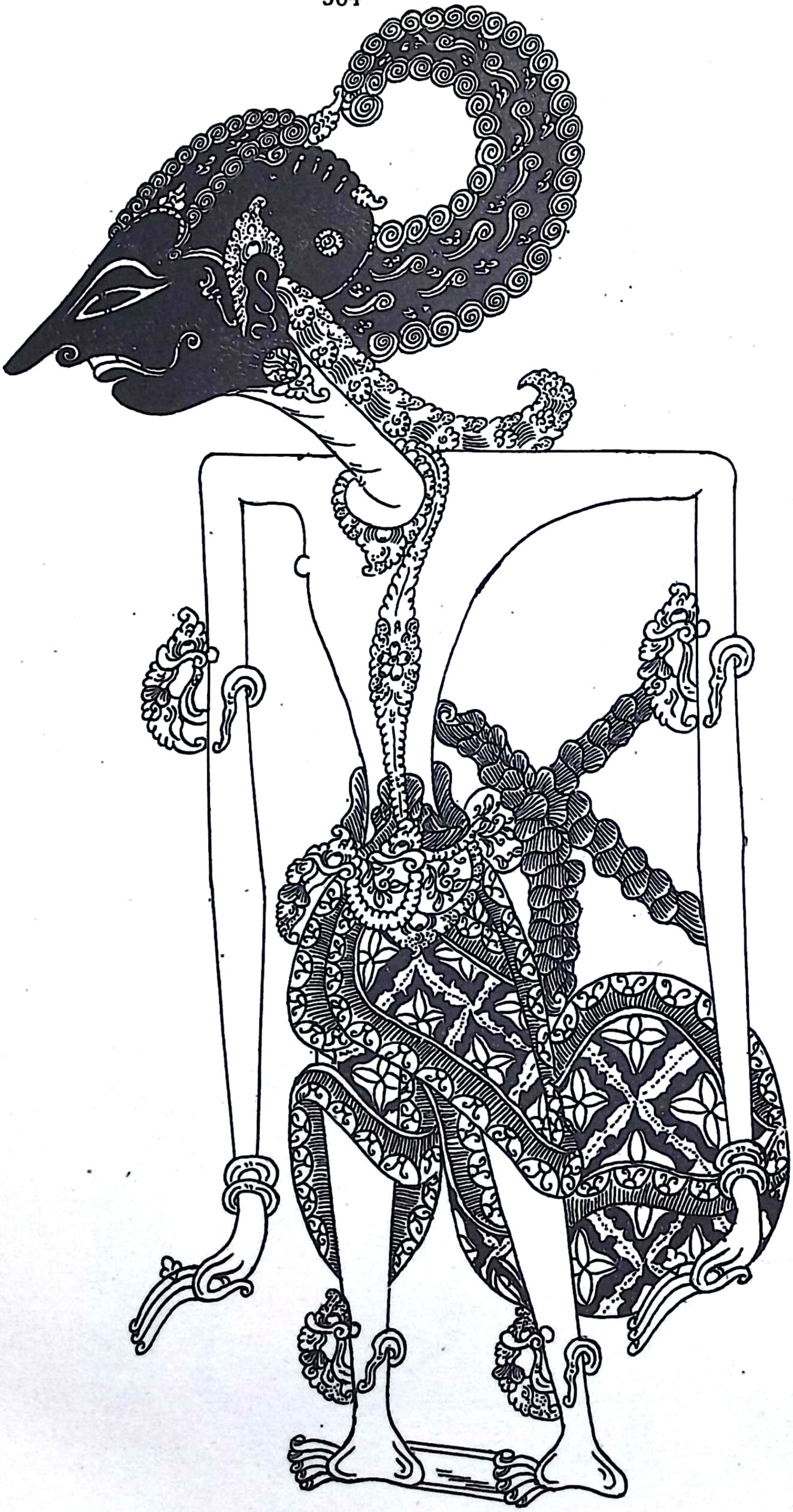
2. Suyudana (Duryodhana). Eldest Kurawa, also known as Kurupati before he became king of Astina.

Funding by IKS-MoE

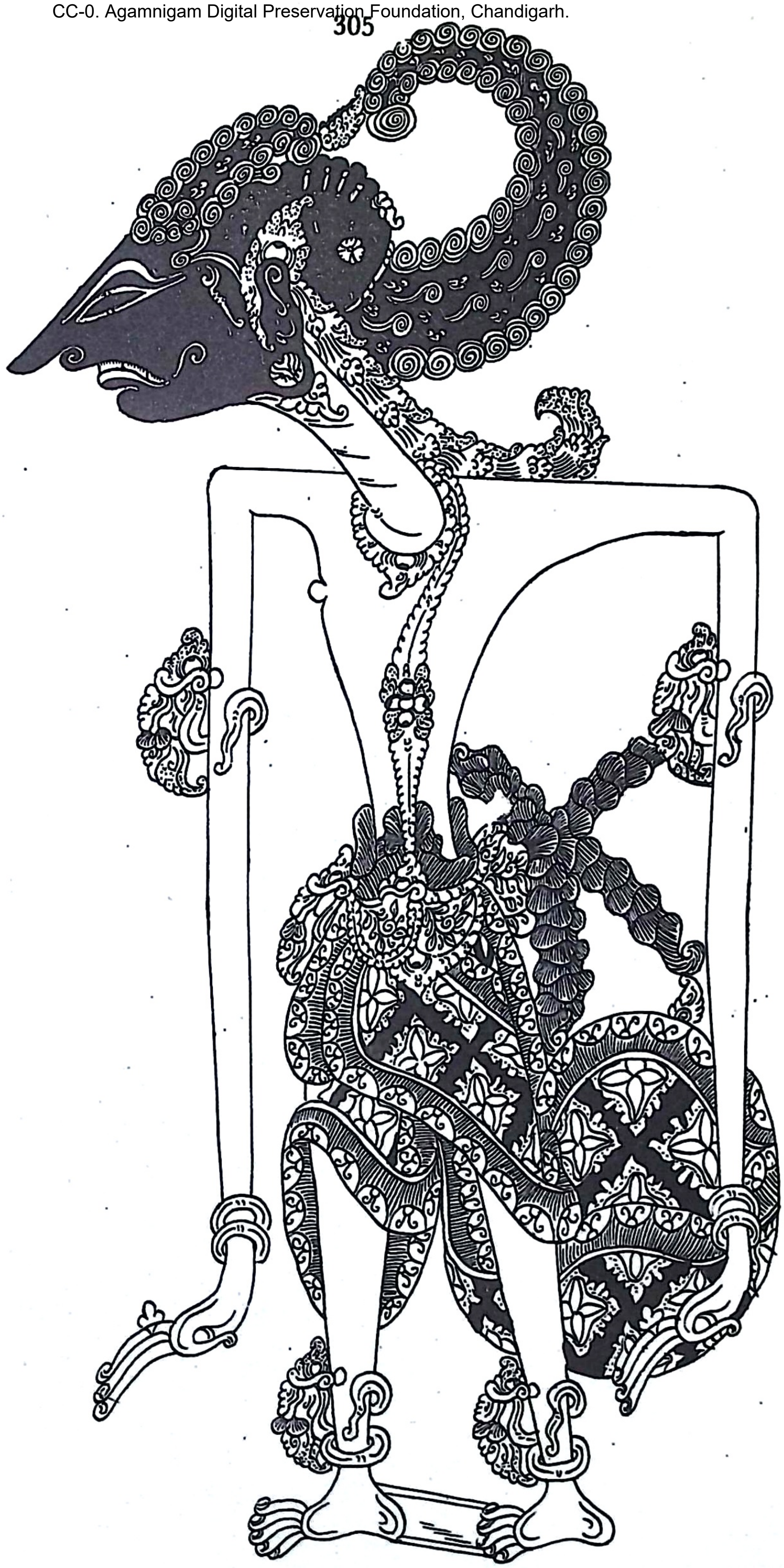


3. **Werkodara (Bhīma).**

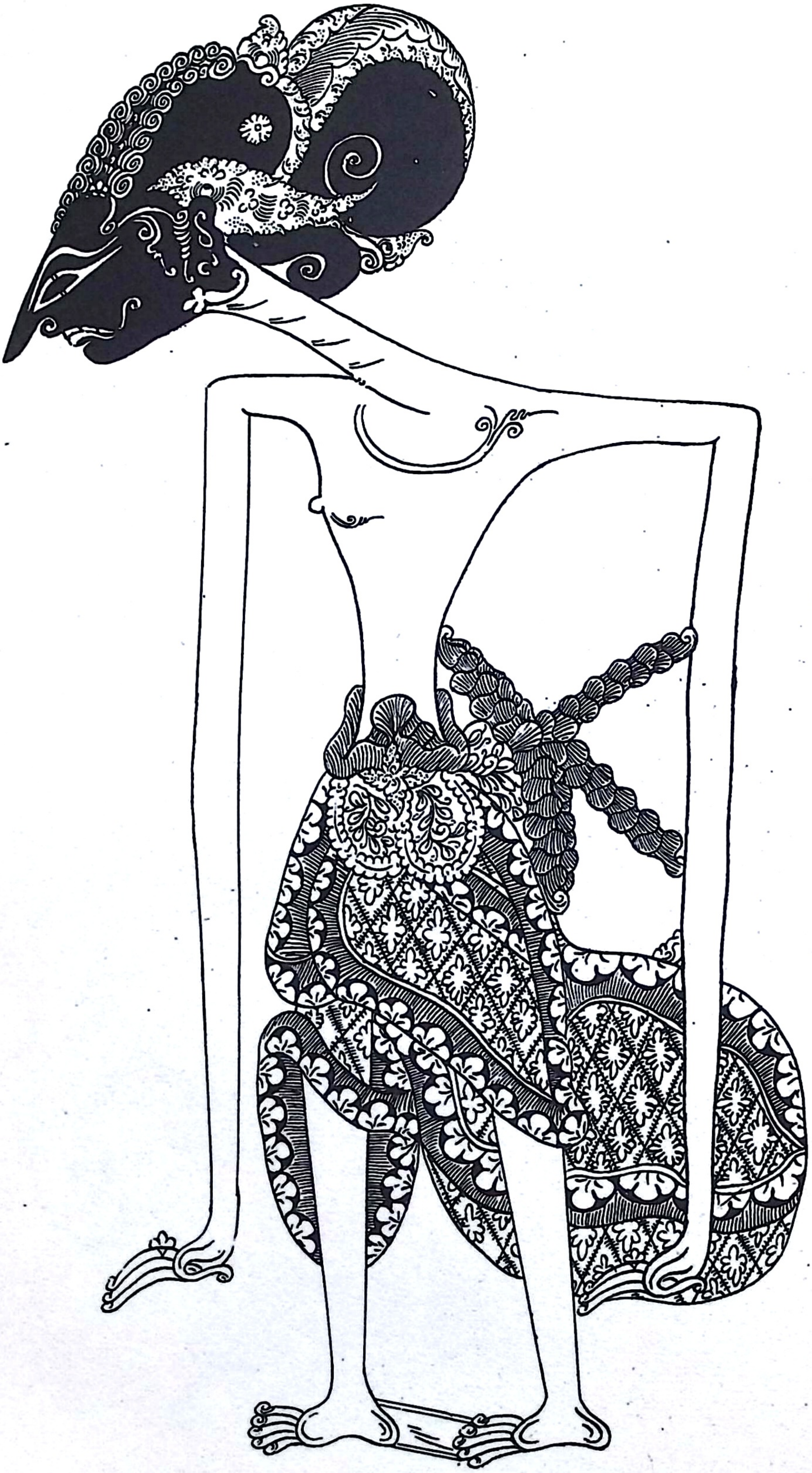
Funding by IKS-MoE



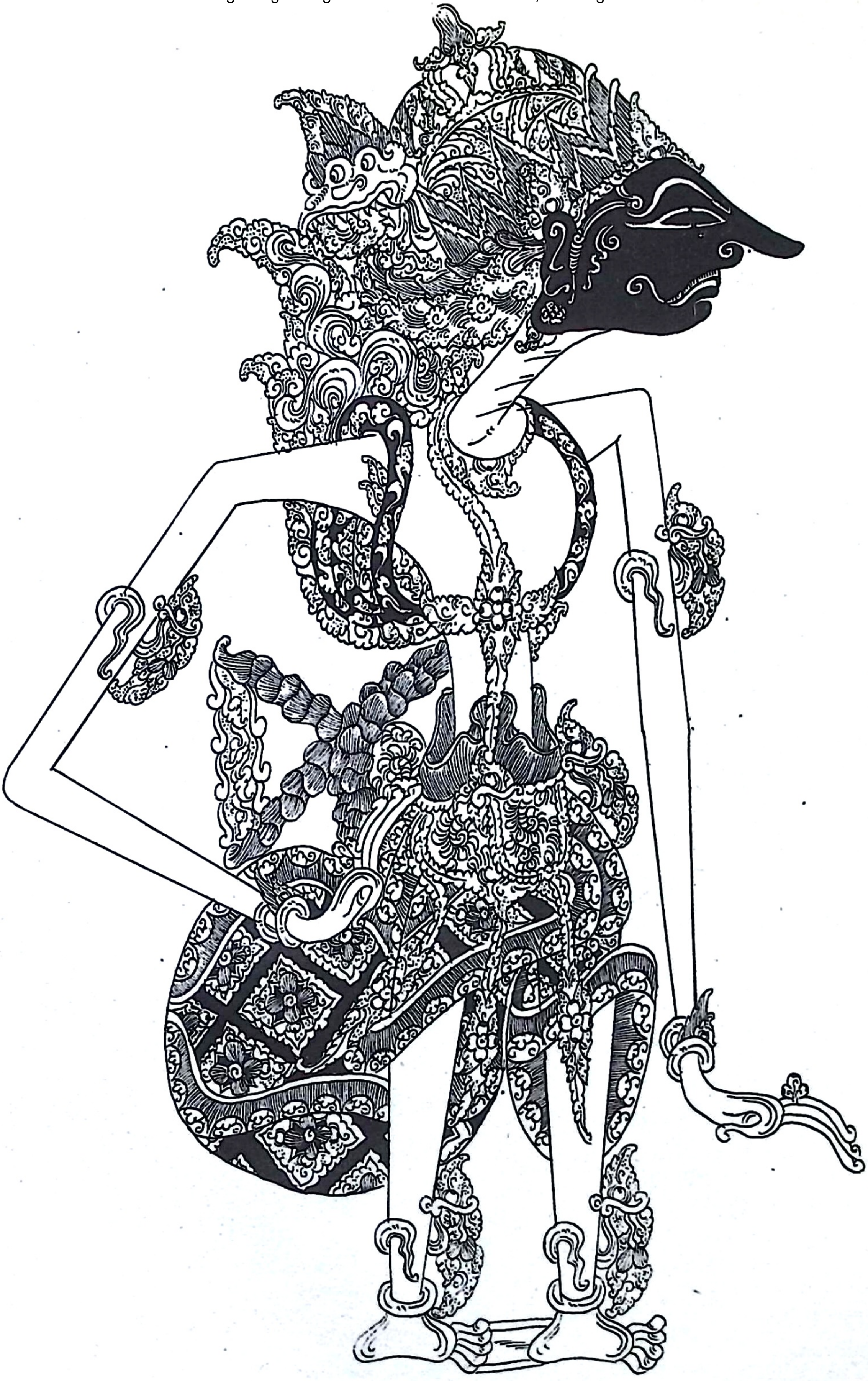
4. Sadewa (Sahadeva) or Tangsen.



5. **Nakula or Pintan.**

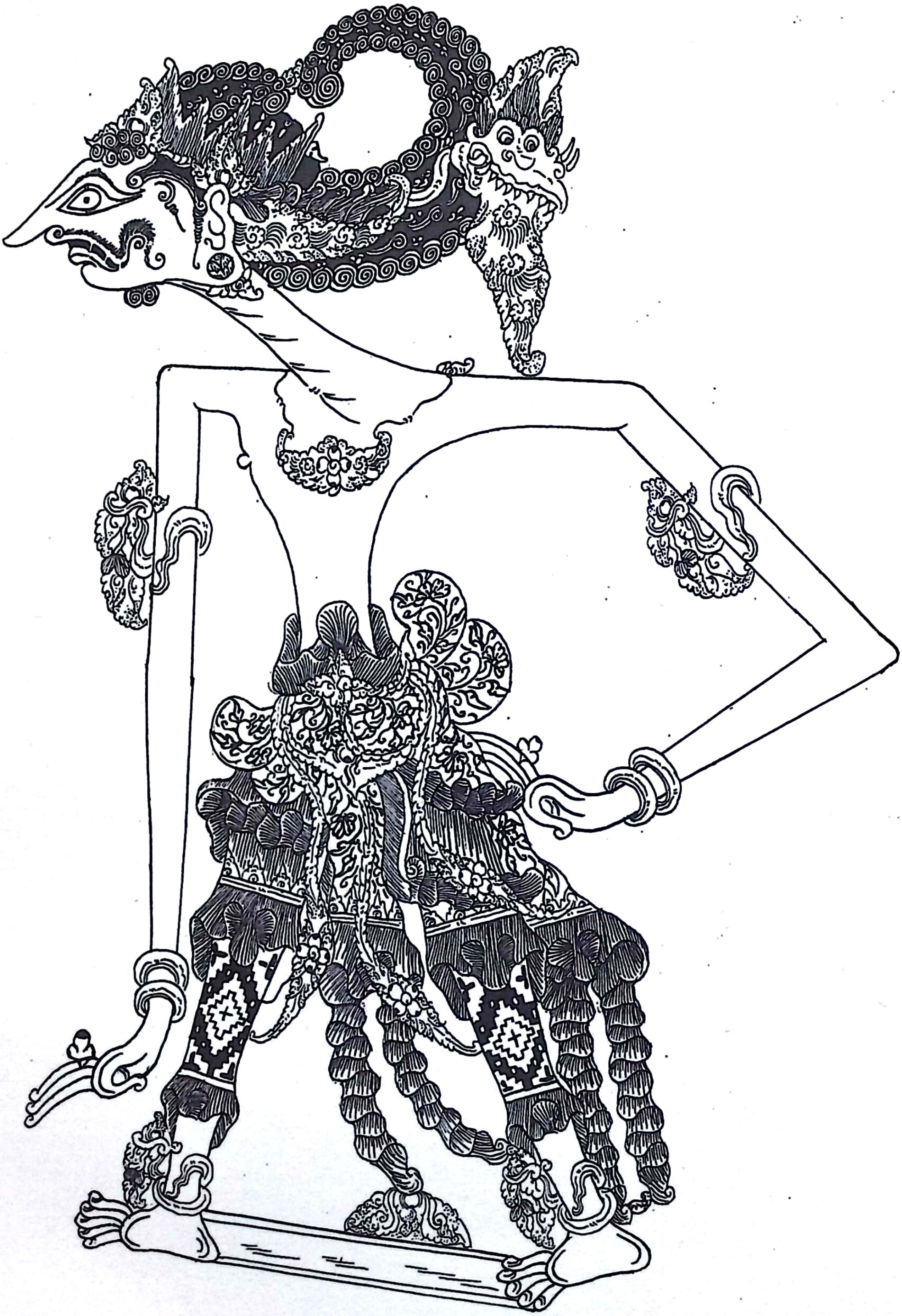


6. Yudistira (Yudhiṣṭhira), eldest Pandawa, also known as Puntadeva, Dharmakusuma, Sanyaji.

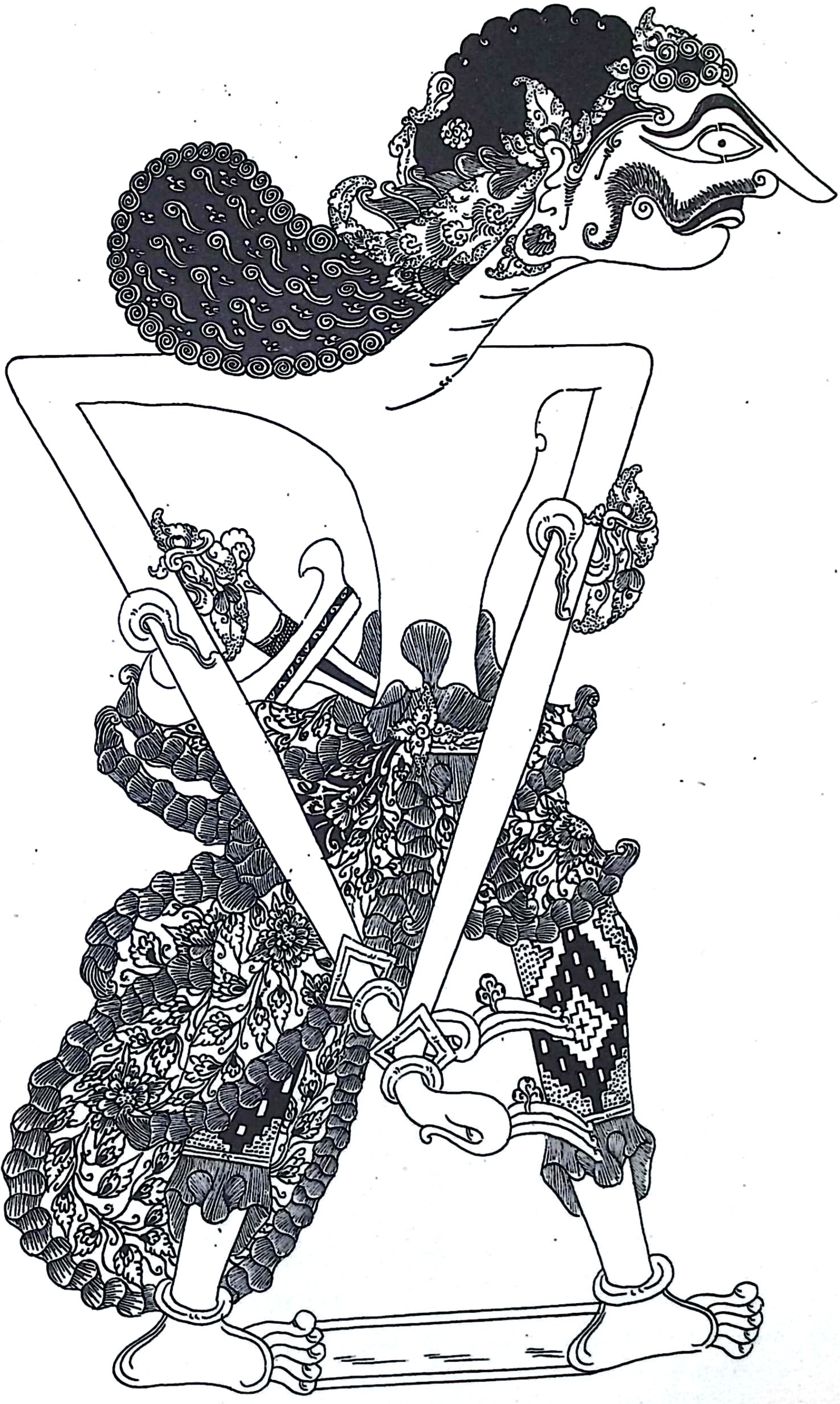


7. Karna, eldest son of Kunti, born before she was married to Pandu. Also known as Basuka, Basukarna. Before he was crowned king of Anga, he was known as Suryatmaja.

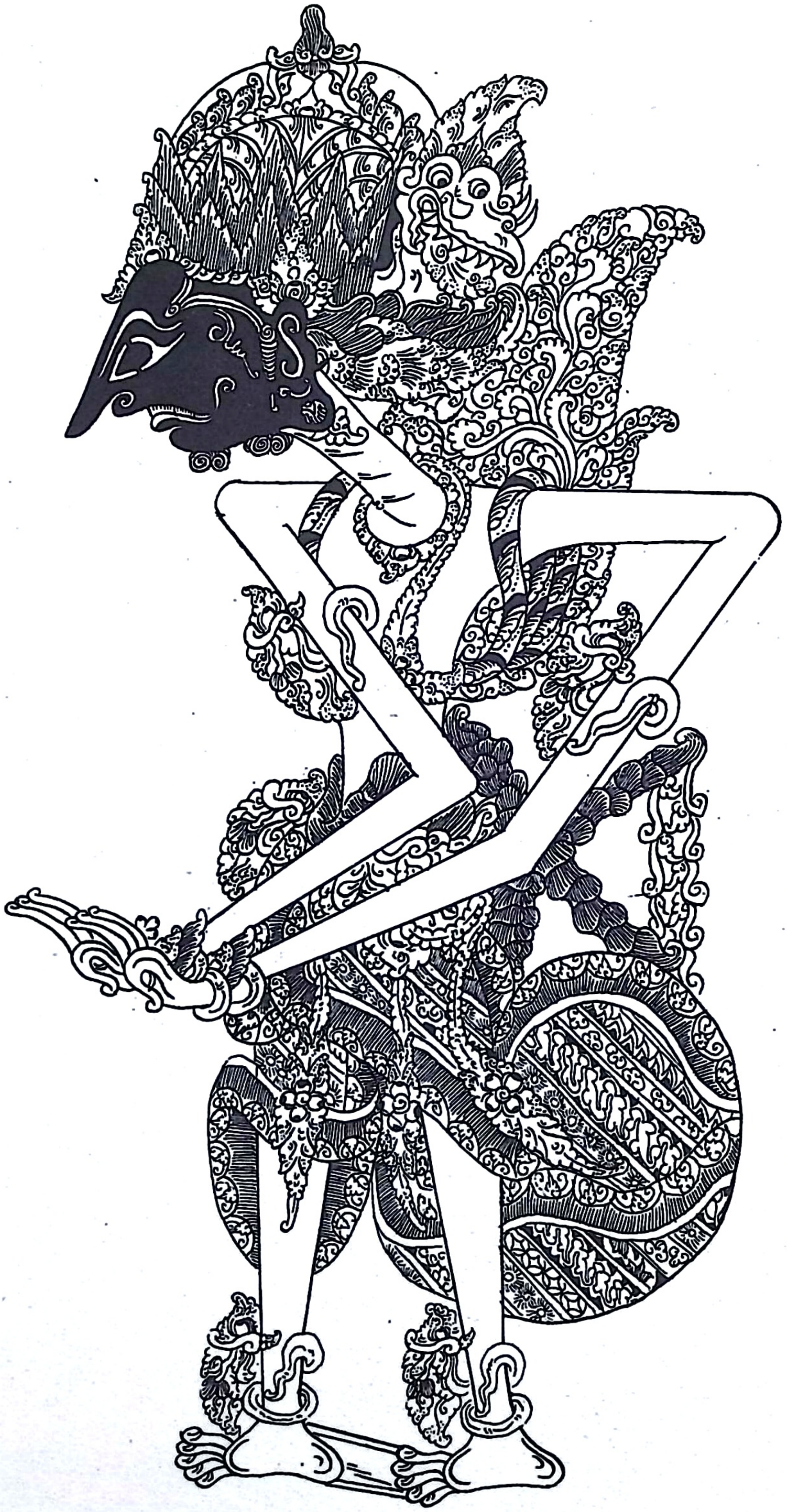
Funding by IKS-MoE



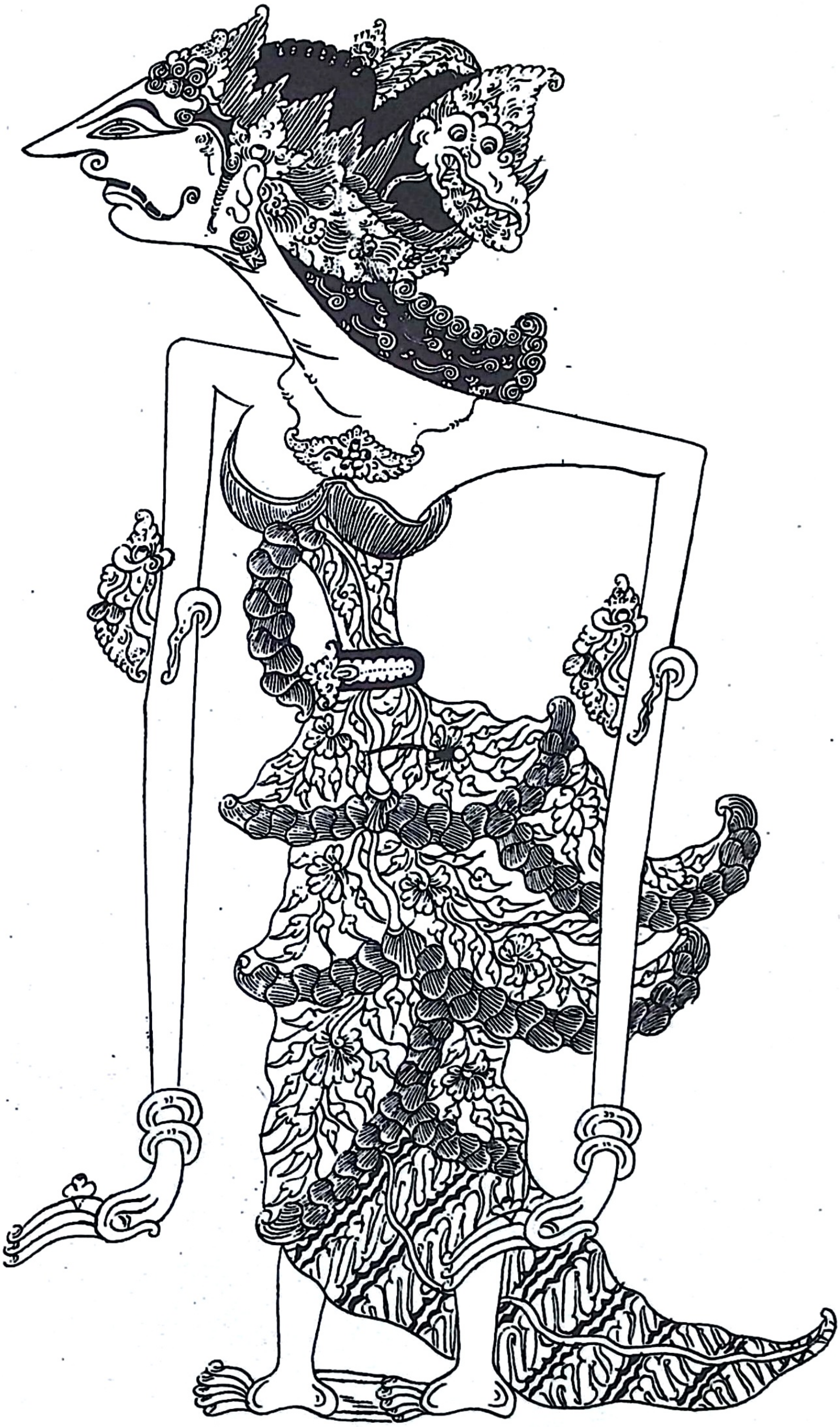
8. Sātyaki or Satyāki. Nephew of Kresna from the Yadava family, later his Prime Minister at Dwarawati.



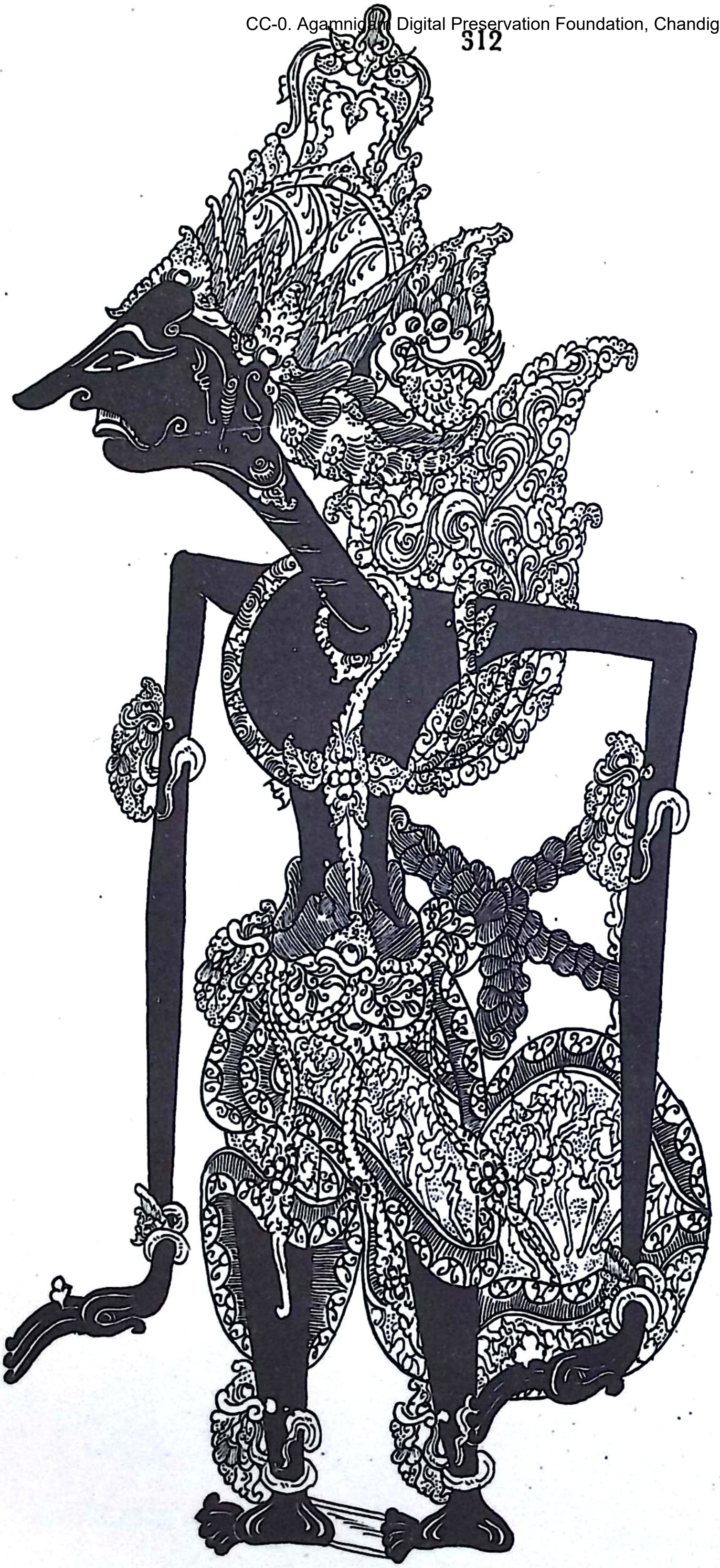
9. **Uddhawa, another minister of Kresna.**



10. Matswapati (Matsyarāja), king of Wirata and father of Uttari, wife of Abimanyu.

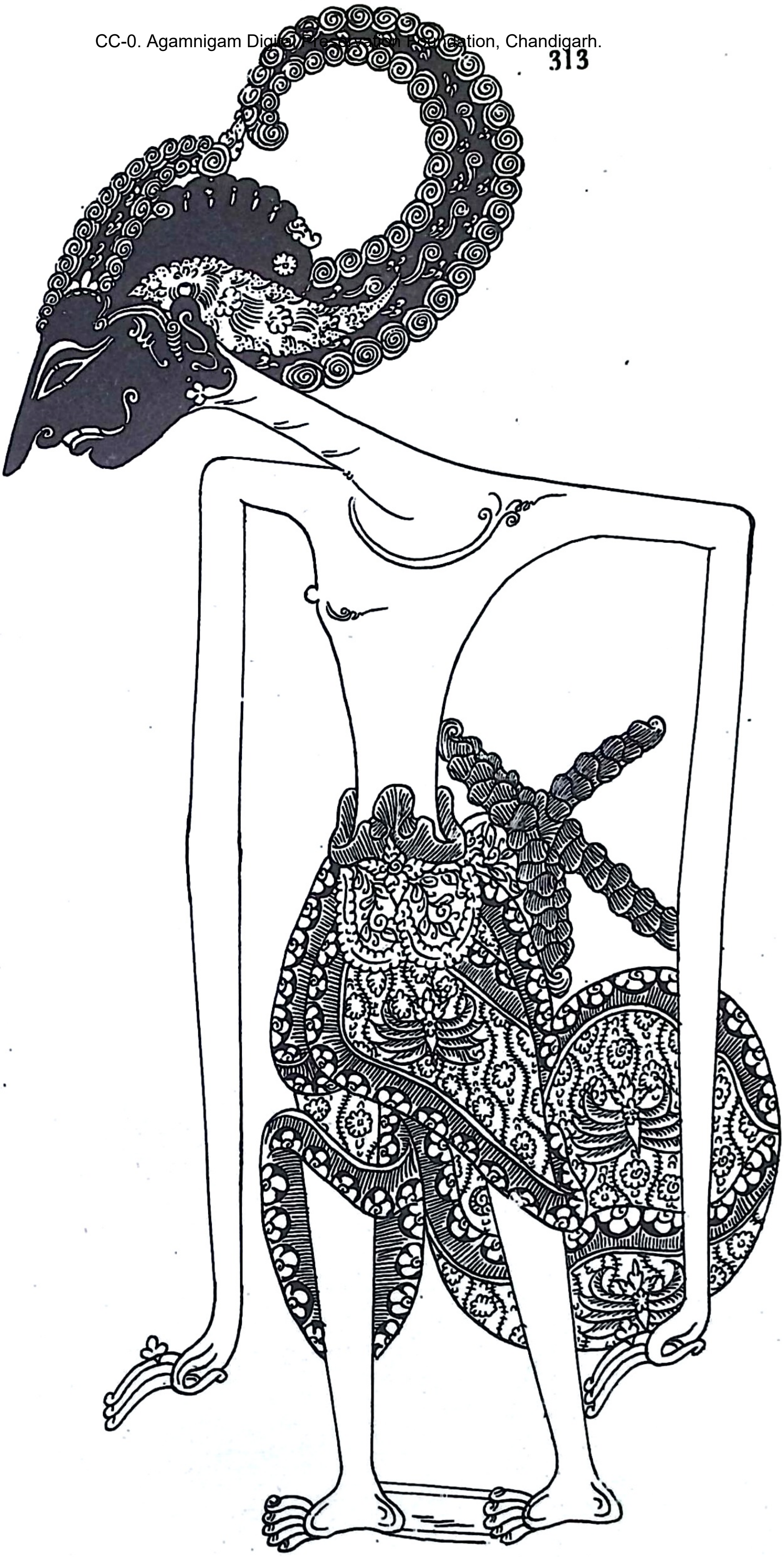


11. Srikandi (Śikhaṇḍī), male-female incarnation of Amba, kills Bhīṣma in the war. Female warrior.



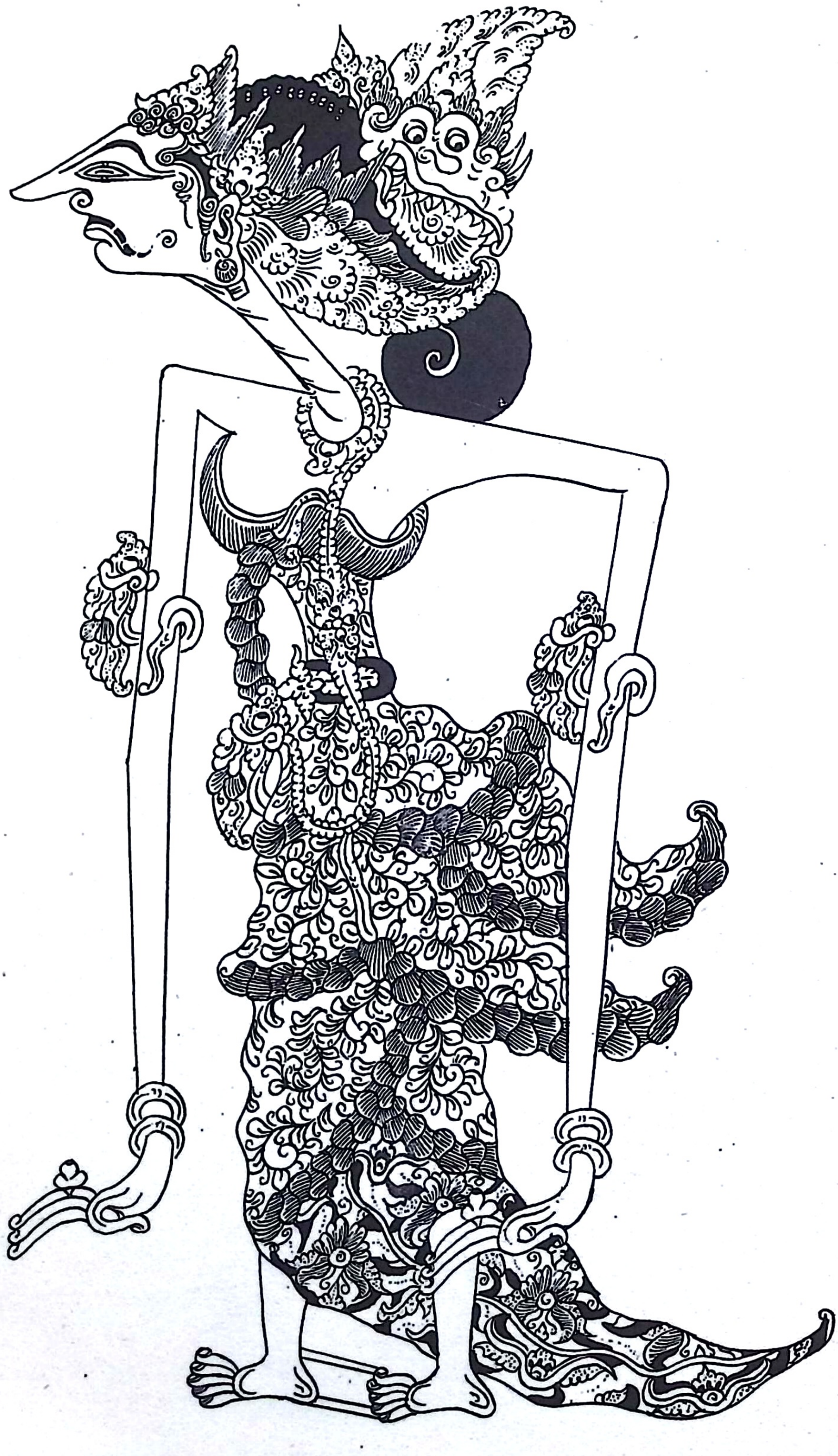
12. Kresna (Kṛiṣṇa). In the wayang Bhima calls him Jliteng. It means "the black one" in low Javanese (*iteng* 'black').

Funding by IKS-MoE



13. Arjuna, also known as Jonoko, was known as Pamade or Parmadi. Sometimes he put on the ornaments *keyura* and *nupura* when he was hiding as dance-teacher in the kingdom of Matswapati.

Funding by IKS-MoE



14. Banawati (Bhānumatī), Suyudana's wife.

Funding by IKS-MoE

ŚATAPIṬAKA SERIES

1. Sudarshana Devi, Wṛhaspati-tattwa
2. Sharada Rani, Ślokāntara
3. Lokesh Chandra, Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary
4. Sushama Devi, Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhānarāja
5. RaghuVira, Mongol-Sanskrit Dictionary
6. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, Gaṇapati-tattwa
7. A. Zieseniss, Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus
8. Lokesh Chandra, Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ
9. Lokesh Chandra, Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston, parts 1-4
10. RaghuVira & Lokesh Chandra, Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (facsimile edition), Parts 1-10
11. Rinchen, Four Mongolian Historical Records
12. Lokesh Chandra, Vaiḍūrya-ser-po, parts 1, 2
13. C. R. Bawden, Tales of King Vikramāditya and the Thirtytwo Wooden Men
14. Lokesh Chandra, The Samye Monastery
15. RaghuVira, Araji Booji
16. Lokesh Chandra, Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia
17. J. M. van Gelder, Mānava-Śrautasūtra (Sanskrit text with variants)
18. RaghuVira, Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti
19. RaghuVira, Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist Terms
20. Sharada Rani, Wratiśāsana
21. RaghuVira & Lokesh Chandra, A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, parts 1-20
22. Charles R. Bawden, Vikramāditya Tales from Mongolia
23. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, Tattwajñāna and Mahājñāna
24. RaghuVira, Sārasamuccaya

25,26. Jan Kochanowski, Gypsy Studies, parts 1, 2

27. J. M. van Gelder, Mānava-Śrautasūtra (English translation)

28-30. Lokesh Chandra, Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, parts 1-3

31. RaghuVira, Indo-Asian Studies, part 1
32. RaghuVira, Sarasvati Vihara
33. Rinchen, Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprimé, parts 1-3

Funding by IKS-MoE

34. Lokesh Chandra, The Golden Annals of Lamaism
35. Kakasaheb Kalelkar & others, RaghuVira Śraddhāñjali (Homage to Prof. Dr. RaghuVira)
36. RaghuVira, India's National Language
37. RaghuVira, Indo-Asian Studies, Part 2
38. Lokesh Chandra, The Amarakośa in Tibet
39. Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit Bījas and Mantras in Japan
40. Premnidhi Shastri, Jaiminīya-śrautasūtra-vṛtti
41-68. Lokesh Chandra, The Collected Works of Bu-ston, vols. 1-28
69,70. RaghuVira & Lokesh Chandra, Kālacakra-tantra and other Texts, parts 1, 2
71. Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking, parts 1-22
72. Lokesh Chandra, Yuthok's Treatise on Tibetan Medicine
73. Lokesh Chandra & Lopon Tenzin Namdak, History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-yoga
74. Denis Sinor, Studies in South, East and Central Asia
75. Lokesh Chandra, Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po
76. Lokesh Chandra & S. D. Singhal, Prof. RaghuVira's Expedition to China
77. Lokesh Chandra, The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Paṇ-chen
78. Lokesh Chandra, A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge
79. Lokesh Chandra, The Life of the Saint of Gtsaṅ
80. Lokesh Chandra, Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture
81. Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet
82. Lokesh Chandra, An Illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian Materia Medica of Āyurveda
83-91. Eric Grinstead, The Tangut Tripiṭaka, parts 1-9
92. Lokesh Chandra, The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas
93,94. Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit Manuscripts from Japan, parts 1, 2
95,96. Perala Ratnam, Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vols. 1, 2
97. Lokesh Chandra, Buryat Annotations on the Lam-rim
98. Lokesh Chandra, Buddha in Chinese Woodcuts
99. J. Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia
100. Lokesh Chandra, The Collected Works of Longdol Lama, parts 1, 2
101-208. Lokesh Chandra, Mongolian Kanjur, vols. 1-108
209. Perala Ratnam, Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vol. 3

Funding by IKS-MoE

210,211. Lokesh Chandra, Sādhana-mālā of the Panchen Lama, parts 1, 2
212. Lokesh Chandra, Blue Annals (Tibetan text)
213. Soewito Santoso, Sutasoma (with English translation)
214-222. Lokesh Chandra, Collected Works of Sum-pa-mkhan-po, vols. 1-9
223. Perala Ratnam, Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vol. 4
224. Lokesh Chandra, Sudhana's Way to Enlightenment
225. Lokesh Chandra, Dharmatāla's Annals of Buddhism
226,227. Lokesh Chandra, The Ocean Annals of Amdo, parts 1-3
228. Heinz Bechert, Bhāgavata-purāṇa
229. Lokesh Chandra, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
230. Lokesh Chandra, Bodhicaryāvatāra
231. J. Terjek, Tibetan Compendia written for Csoma de Koros
232. Sharada Rani, Buddhist Tales of Kashmir in Tibetan Woodcuts
233. Lokesh Chandra, Buddhist Philosophical Systems written by Lcaṅ-skya Rol-pai-rdo-rje
234. Lokesh Chandra, Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
235. Dharmatāla, The History of Buddhism in Mongolia
236. Sharada Rani, Kriyā-saṅgraha
237. Lokesh Chandra, Kriyā-samuccaya
238. Lokesh Chandra & Perala Ratnam, Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vol. 5
239. Lokesh Chandra, Vajrāvalī
240. RaghuVira, India and Asia
241. Josef Kolmaš, Iconography of the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur
242. Sharada Rani, Skanda-purāṇa
243. Lokesh Chandra & Sharada Rani, Mudrās in Japan
244,245. Lokesh Chandra, Multilingual Buddhist Texts, vols. 1, 2
246. Geza Bethlenfalvy, A Catalogue of the Urga Kanjur
247. R. H. van Gulik, Siddham
248-250. Lokesh Chandra, Multilingual Buddhist Texts, vols. 3-5
251. Soewito Santoso, Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, vols. 1-3
252-258. Lokesh Chandra, Multilingual Buddhist Texts, vols. 6-12.

Funding by IKS-MoE